QUADERNI
D'ITALIANISTICA

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VOLUME XXIV, NO. 1, 2003

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FOREWORD

This special issue is devoted to the Renaissance, a period of great interest and even of specialization for many scholars in Italian studies, one that is well represented in the submissions regularly made to *Quaderni d'italianistica*. The issue covers a wide range of topics both chronologically and thematically and includes discussions of texts written throughout the Renaissance from the early Quattrocento to the late Cinquecento, from the tale of the Grasso Legniauolo to Tasso's *Aminta*. The contents may be divided into two main sections. The first, consisting of five articles, relates to the interconnected themes of sleep, dream, and vision, and closes with a linguistic analysis of the origins of terms used in the Romance languages to designate those phenomena. The second, consisting of two further contributions, deals with late sixteenth-century theories of romance and with the challenges faced in the modern staging of Renaissance plays.

The first group of papers, all refereed, were prepared for and, save in the case of one essay, were delivered at the international conference on "Sleep, Dream, and Vision in the Renaissance," held at the University of Toronto on 25-26 September 1997. Bringing together scholars from Canada, the USA, and Europe, in particular Italy, it was one of the very first conferences sponsored at the University of Toronto by the Emilio Goggio Chair in Italian Studies. As Chair of the Department of Italian Studies and incumbent of the Goggio Chair at the time, I co-hosted the event together with Stefano Cracolici (now an Assistant Professor of Italian at the University of Pennsylvania), who had organized the conference. Generous support was provided at that time by the Emilio Goggio Chair, which was established in Italian Studies at the University of Toronto in 1995 by members of the U.S.-based Goggio family to honour their mother Emma and their father Emilio, the latter of whom had been Chair of the then Department of Italian, Spanish and Portuguese from 1946 to 1956. Additional sponsorship for the conference came from other University of Toronto constituencies, namely University College, the School of Graduate Studies, the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Victoria University, the Northrop Frye Centre, and the Graduate Students Association of the Department of Italian Studies.

Many persons have contributed to the preparation of these articles for publication. Stefano Cracolici gathered the conference papers initially.

LORENZO BARTOLI

"I don't know whether I'm dreaming now,
or if I dreamed what I'm about to tell you":
FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI AND THE PERSPECTIVES OF
SLEEP IN THE *NOVELLA OF THE FAT WOODCARVER*

A fundamental characteristic of the Florentine figurative tradition at the beginning of the fifteenth century — a characteristic which emerges, for instance, from Filippo Brunelleschi's perspective panels or from Lorenzo Ghiberti's concept of measures of the eye — is that it considers the work of art as a scientific exposition of the master's vision, an exposition which can be confirmed by its principles of measurability and hence by its implicitly collective value. An example of this is the introduction to the vernacular version of Leon Battista Alberti's *Della pittura* (*On Painting*) (1436).[1] Here the mathematical premises of the book are announced through its evocation of a group of Florentine artists who were Alberti's contemporaries. The figure of Filippo Brunelleschi, to whom, it should be recalled, Alberti dedicated the vernacular version of his *Della pittura*, is the *nomen agentis* of such a generation, and the construction of the dome of the cathedral in Florence is its *nomen actionis*:

> Ma poi che io dal lungo essilio in quale siamo noi Alberti invecchiati, qui fui in questa nostra sopra l'altre ornatissima patria ridutto, compresi in molti ma prima in te, Filippo, e in quel nostro amicissimo Donato scultore e in quegli altri Nencio e Luca e Masaccio, essere a ogni idata cosa ingegno da non posporli a qual si sia stato antiquo e famoso in queste arti.
> ....
> Chi mai sì duro o sì invido non lodasse Pippo architetto vedendo qui struttura sì grande, erta sopra e' cieli, ampla da coprire con sua ombra tutti e' populi toscani, fatta sanza alcuno aiuto di travamenti o di copia di legname, quale artificio certo, se io ben iudico, come a questi tempi era incredibile potersi, così forse appresso gli antichi fu non saputo né conosciuto? (7)

> (Since then, I have been brought back here [to Florence] — from the long exile in which we Alberti have grown old — into this our city, adorned above all others. I have come to understand that in many men, but especially in you, Filippo, and in our close friend Donato the sculp-

tor and in others like Nencio, Luca and Masaccio, there is a genius for [accomplishing] every praiseworthy thing. For this they should not be slighted in favour of anyone famous in antiquity in these arts. (39)

....

Who could ever be hard or envious enough to fail to praise Pippo the architect on seeing here such a large structure, rising above the skies, ample to cover with its shadow all the Tuscan people, and constructed without the aid of centering or great quantity of wood? Since this work seems impossible of execution in our time, if I judge rightly, it was probably unknown and unthought of among the ancients.) (40)

In the scientific and civic attitude which characterizes Alberti's treatise on painting and which represents the more general cultural climate of the age, vision also has social implications, in so far as artistic expression is reaffirmed in a new way. It invokes the participation of the observers, their point of view being the ultimate verification of the measurability of the work of art. Artistic expression, in other words, requires an artistic community or a community of art connoisseurs ("gli intendenti"); it requires a collectivity who will know how to deal with the mathematical implications and the measurements expressed in the work of art.

The affirmation of artistic individuality in the Renaissance was achieved, in fact, in the context of the group, within which a few protagonists would emerge and define themselves thanks to both the exceptionality of their artistic experience and also the recognition of the same exceptionality by the other members of the group.[2] As it is made abundantly clear in the dedication of Alberti's treatise on painting, Filippo Brunelleschi best represented such a situation. His genius elevated him to heights which were inaccessible for most of the members of his circle; but the confirmation of his superiority is nevertheless ineluctably linked to the mathematical verifiability of his architectural constructions. Significantly, Brunelleschi's perspective panels, which played such a major role in the evolution of the science of vision (and not only in art), did not represent just any old object; rather they reproduced the collective space par excellence in the civic consciousness of fifteenth-century Florence, that is, the Baptistry, seen from the Duomo (cathedral), and the Piazza della Signoria.[3]

The role played by Brunelleschi in the context of the cultural development of Florence in the first part of the fifteenth century is illustrated clearly in the extraordinary story known as the *Novella del Grasso legnaiuolo* (*The Tale of the Fat Woodcarver*).[4] The third version of this novella has been attributed to Antonio di Tuccio Manetti by Giuliano Tanturli on the basis of arguments which can be considered definitive. The attribution has

contributed to making this fifteenth-century text the object of numerous philological studies, particularly because of its peculiar pluriredactional condition. It is significant that, in recent years, two different editions of the novella have been published (one by Antonio Lanza in 1989 and the other by Paolo Procaccioli in 1990). Both present the text in all the three known versions of the story: that is, the so-called vulgate, written in the first half of the fifteenth century; the Palatino MS. 51 text, published by Michele Barbi in 1893 (Florence: Landi) and composed probably between 1470 and 1478; and finally, the version by Manetti, written as the concluding part of his biography of Filippo Brunelleschi in the 1480s. Leaving aside the question of the philological inclination of Italian criticism, it is evident that the textual tradition of the novella demands an analysis of the variants.

The novella tells the story of a *beffa* (prank) played by Filippo Brunelleschi on the woodcarver Matteo Ammannatini, also known as il Grasso (the fat man). All three versions of the novella insist on the apparent impossibility of carrying out the *beffa* proposed by Brunelleschi: that is, to convince Grasso that he has become a different person named Matteo. An impossible *beffa*, but one nevertheless designed and executed thanks to the ingenuity of the plan devised by Brunelleschi. "Ancora che la brigata conoscessi Filippo di grande ingegno ... quello che diceva pareva a tutti impossibile di farlo: a' quali Filippo assegnate sue ragioni e argumenti cauti e sottili, come colui che era a quelli molto atto, con molte parole gli fece capaci questo potersi fare" (589). ("Although the company knew Filippo to be very clever ... what Filippo was proposing seemed impossible to everyone. But Filippo, who was very good at such things, gave them so many clever, subtle reasons and arguments that he succeeded in convincing them that it could be done") (173).

The interest aroused by the novella is due primarily to its display of Brunelleschi's skill at design, which is accompanied by an equal ability to complete the project as a constructed artefact. It is the same sort of fascination which is mentioned in all of the biographical anecdotes told about Brunelleschi's activities as an architect, and in particular in those more directly related to the construction of the dome of the cathedral in Florence, itself considered an impossible feat. The exceptional nature of the fifteenth-century artist, and of Brunelleschi in particular, seems to lie precisely in his ability to force the impossible into the realm of the possible.

For these reasons it is essential, in the construction of the plot of the novella, that the victim should not be unsuspecting: Grasso, in fact, "non era però tanto semplice, che da altri che da sottili uomini fosse stata compresa la sua semplicità, come quella che non teneva in tutto dello sciocco"

(he was not so simple that any but very perceptive persons would understand his simplemindedness, which was not real stupidity). This is also reflected in the awareness that Grasso demonstrates of the possibility of being the victim of a *beffa* like Calandrino, the protagonist of various stories in Boccaccio's *Decameron*: "Ohimé! sarei io mai Calandrino, ch'io sia sì tosto diventato un altro senza essermene avveduto?" (592) ("Woe is me! Am I like Calandrino, turned into someone else so quickly without realizing it?") (176). Grasso, in other words, does not undergo the change of identity passively: he is not a simple spectator nor a Calandrino. Rather, he investigates his culture and his experience, searching for an explanation for what is happening to him and around him. In a significant scene, which takes place in the debtors' prison where he has been taken in place of Matteo, Grasso, convinced by now that he has really become Matteo, finds himself discussing his situation with a judge who happened to be in the same cell. After having explained his case to the judge, he concludes inquisitively with these words: "Messere ... ché so che avete lungamente letto di molte cose e storie d'antichi e di moderni e di uomini che hanno scritto molti avvenimenti: trovasti voi mai simile cosa?" (597) ("My lord ... for I know that you have long read about many things, including stories of ancient and modern men, and men who have recounted many events. Did you ever come across anything like this?") (181). In as much as his vernacular culture proves to be inadequate, Grasso appeals to the judge's classical culture in order to find an explanation for his misadventures. The dynamics of the narrative, therefore, are not limited to the action of the pranksters vis-à-vis their target, as is the case in most novellas of the fourteenth century. Instead, it is very much dependant on the consequences and primarily the psychological consequences that those actions have for the designated victim. These will be even more intriguing in so far as the victim, rather than abandoning himself to the inevitable rationale of the events, tries nevertheless to control and comprehend them.

In the first two versions of the novella, the vulgate and the Palatino text, the story ends rather quickly, once the *beffa* has reached its conclusion. After managing, in the space of three days, to convince Grasso that he has become Matteo, Filippo Brunelleschi and his companions polish their work by putting in place the last details of the plan for the beffa. First, they give Grasso a potion to make him fall asleep, and this takes place at Matteo's house. Then, they take him to his own house; they put him in bed; go to his workshop and move every tool from its original place; finally they all go back to their own homes to sleep. The next morning Grasso, having regained possession of his identity but incapable of finding a rea-

sonable explanation for the events of the day before, decides to leave Florence for good and to move to Hungary. This is how the vulgate presents the scene in which Filippo Brunelleschi and his friends take Grasso home from Matteo's house, and put him to bed (I quote from the MS. BNF II.IV. 128, following Rochon's edition of the manuscript, 357):

> All'ora ordinata, Filippo giunse con tre compagni, e entrò nella camera dove elli era, e sentendolo forte russare, lo presono e missonlo in una zana con tutti i suoi panni e condussonlo a casa sua, dove non era persona, ché per avventura sua madre non era ancora tornata di villa, e portatolo insino a letto, ve lo missono dentro e puosono i panni suoi dove li soleva porre egli, quando se n'andava a letto.

> (At the agreed time Filippo arrived with three friends and, on entering the room where [Grasso] was, and hearing him snore loudly, they picked him up and put him in a hamper along with all his clothes and brought him to his own house, where, as luck would have it, no one was home, since his mother had not yet returned from the country. Carrying him to his bed, they put him in it and placed his clothes where he usually put them when he went to bed.)

The meaning of the operation is, without any doubt, that of giving Grasso back his identity, through an exact adherence to his most personal habits ("puosono i panni suoi dove li soleva porre" "they placed his clothes where he usually put them"). The same is true in the version of the Palatino text (Rochon 370):

> All'ora a ciò diputata, giunse Filippo di ser Brunellesco e co' lui Tommaso di Niccolò d'Aringo, Zanobi di Cristofano Magnolino e Poltrone Cavalcanti, e intrarono in camera dove il Grasso dormia, e sentendolo forte dormire, il presono e missono in una zana con tutti i suoi panni, e portarollo a casa sua, ove per ventura la madre non era di villa tornata, e missollo nel suo letto e i suoi panni puosono dove il Grasso porre li soleva, quando si spogliava.

> (At the agreed time, Filippo Brunelleschi arrived with Tommaso di Niccolò d'Aringo, Zanobi di Cristofano Magnolino and Poltrone Cavalcanti; they entered the room where Grasso was sleeping and, hearing that he was sound asleep, they picked him up and put him in a hamper along with all his clothes and carried him to his own house where, as luck would have it, his mother had not yet returned from the country. They put him into bed and placed his clothes where he usually put them when he undressed.)

Manetti's version, on the other hand, presents a reading of this scene that is completely different. It is suggested by a detail that reverses the

meaning of Brunelleschi's plan as it appears in the two older versions:

> In su l'ora a ciò diputata tornò Filippo di ser Brunellesco con sei com-
> pagni ..., e entrarono nella camera dov'egli era, e sentendolo forte
> dormire, lo presono e misollo in una zana con tutti e sua panni e por-
> torollo a casa sua, ove per ventura la madre non era ancora tornata di
> villa; e loro sapevano tutto, che vegghiavano ogni cosa. E misollo nel
> letto, e puosono e panni sua dov'egli era usato di porgli; *ma lui che sole-*
> *va dormire da capo, lo puosono dappié* [emphasis added]. (609)

> (Filippo came back at the agreed time with his friends ... On entering the
> room where Grasso was, and hearing that he was sound asleep, they
> picked him up, put him in a hamper along with all his clothes, and car-
> ried him to his own house, where, as luck would have it, his mother had
> not yet returned from the country. They knew all this because they were
> keeping an eye on everything. And they put him into bed, and placed his
> clothes where he usually put them. *But they put his feet where he usually*
> *put his head* [emphasis added]). (193)

In the version by Manetti, Filippo Brunelleschi intervenes to twist
Grasso's perspectives of sleep, opening the path towards the infiltration
into Grasso's mind of yet another element of ambiguity, but this time not
external to him (his becoming Matteo), but rather internal, in his domes-
tic world.

Upon awakening, Grasso, in the vulgate and Palatino versions, redis-
covers his identity precisely by recognizing the elements familiar to him;
and his astonishment derives from the conflict between this identity and
that which he experienced on the previous days — a conflict which is
exemplified by his having gone to bed in Matteo's house and having awak-
ened in his own bed. According to the Palatino manuscript (see Rochon's
edition, 370),

> El Grasso, alloppiato pel beveraggio preso, dormì tutta la notte senza
> giammai risentirsi. La mattina in sull'Ave Maria di Santa Maria del Fiore
> si destoe quasi ad alta mattina, riconosciuto il suono della campana e,
> aperti gli occhi (e già alcuno spiraglio dava per la camera) e riconosciu-
> to, vide essere in casa sua, e ricordandosi di tutte le passate cose, comin-
> ciò avere ammirazione, e massime recatosi a memoria dove la sera s'era
> coricato, disse : "O Dio, aiutami!"

> (Drugged by the potion he had taken, Grasso slept all night without ever
> waking up. In the morning, awakening to the sound of the Angelus from
> Santa Maria del Fiore late in the morning, he recognized the sound of the
> bell and, opening his eyes, saw some chinks of light in the room.
> Recognizing [it] he saw that he was in his own house and, remembering

everything that had happened, he was amazed, especially when he recalled the place where he had gone to bed the night before. He said "God, help me.")

In the Manetti version, on the other hand, Grasso's awakening is very different. The elements are apparently the same, but Grasso's mental activity is no longer characterized by a generic state of confusion. It focuses instead much more specifically on the theme of the interchangeable nature of dream and reality:

> El Grasso aloppiato del beveraggio, dormì tutta quella notte sanza mai risentirsi. Ma la mattina in su l'avemaria di Santa Maria del Fiore, avendo fatto el beveraggio tutta l'opera sua, déstosi, essendo già buona mattina, riconosciuto la campana ed aperto gli occhi e veduto alcuno spiraglio per la camera, riconobbe sé essere in casa sua, e vennegli una grande allegrezza al cuore subito, parendogli essere ritornato el Grasso ed in signoria d'ogni sua cosa, parendogliele prima avere peggio che in compromesso, e quasi lagrimava per letizia, non cappiendo in sé; *ma pure gli dava noia e maravigliavasi essere dappiè deáletto, ché soleva dormire da capo*; e ricordandosi delle cose successe, e dove s'era coricato la sera, e dove si trovava allora, entrò subito in una fantasia d'ambiguità, s'egli aveva sognato quello, o se sognava al presente [emphasis added]. (610)

> (Drugged by the potion, Grasso slept all night without ever waking up. But next morning, awakening to the sound of the Angelus from Santa Maria del Fiore, when the effects of the potion had worn off and it was already daylight, he recognized the sound of the bell and, opening his eyes, saw some chinks of light in the room and realized that he was in his own house, and his heart was suddenly filled with great joy, for it seemed he had become Grasso again and was master of all his possessions, which he thought might be lost to him. And now he almost wept, he was so beside himself with joy. *Yet he was disturbed and amazed to find his head where he usually put his feet in the bed.* And remembering the things that had happened, and where he had gone to sleep the night before, and where he was then, he suddenly fell into a reverie of uncertainty about whether he had been dreaming then or was dreaming now [emphasis added].) (193-194)

A novella about the exchange of identities is transformed into a novella about the exchange of reality and fiction. It takes place inside Grasso's mind and is played out on the basis of the confusion between dream and reality. This is Manetti's essential contribution in terms of narrative invention with respect to the tradition of the novella. This contribution affects not only the construction of the *beffa* but, significantly, the space in which

it is to take place: from the streets of Florence, we are led inside Grasso's own mind. Indeed, in the conclusion to the novella, Manetti states that "la maggior parte delle cose da ridere erano state, come si dice, nella mente del Grasso" (628) ("most of the funny things had happened, so to speak, in Grasso's mind") (212). This phrase, which is not found in the other versions of the novella, confirms Manetti's particular focus on the psychological dimension of the story. Commenting on this aspect of the novella, Achille Tartaro has observed that the version by Manetti marks "una civiltà, quella umanistica, che proprio nella conoscenza dell'animo umano, della sua varia fenomenologia, aveva riposto tanta parte della propria ragion d'essere" (225) (humanist civilization, one which had placed a great part of its reason for being precisely in the knowledge of human consciousness in its varied phenomenology).

What must be stressed, in any case, is the insistence on the theme of dreams, introduced by Manetti to modify the tradition of the novella. It is an important theme both for its humanistic implications (it seals the beffa about an exchange of identities—by now completed and concluded—of which Grasso's dream becomes a sort of psychological confirmation, arising from the preceding events[5]); and in terms of its function within the plot of the beffa itself, it too derives originally from Filippo Brunelleschi's mind, which is instrumental in leading Grasso to confuse dream and reality. Although, in fact, Grasso's meditations on dreams begin with the memory of what happened on the previous days, it is nevertheless significant that those meditations are also suggested by a detail; namely, Grasso's position in bed which, in Manetti's version, becomes part of Brunelleschi's overall strategy for the execution of the beffa. For that reason, the differentiating element introduced by Grasso's position ("ma lui che soleva dormire da capo, lo puosono dappié") ("But they put his feet where he usually put his head") is recovered in the scene of the awakening: "ma pure gli dava noia e maravigliavasi essere dappié del letto, ché soleva dormire da capo" ("Yet he was disturbed and amazed to find his head where he usually put his feet in the bed"), where the insistence on the adversative conjunction (*ma ... ma*) (but ... yet) signals precisely the deviating of that element, with respect to the rationale of the domestic objects which, on the contrary, should return Grasso to his own identity, inducing him to fail to distinguish instead between dream and reality.

In short, it is not so extraordinary that Grasso should struggle to distinguish, in his own mind, between dream and reality; but rather that such ambiguity is born out of Brunelleschi's specific project. So much so, that Manetti, when introducing the character of Matteo, in the last part of

the novella, insists precisely upon terms of dream and reality. "I' non so s'io mi sogno testé, o s'io m'ho sognato quello ch'i vi dirò" (617) ("I don't know whether I'm dreaming now, or if I dreamed what I'm about to tell you") (201), says Matteo, before recounting that he slept for two days and dreamt of becoming Grasso. Such a narrative strategy requires, for its own logic, that Brunelleschi know exactly what is going through Grasso's mind. He should know about Grasso's uncertainty between dream and reality— a knowledge that the architect must have, since it was he who led Grasso's reasoning in that direction. In Manetti's version of the novella, therefore, Brunelleschi is not just the designer of a *beffa* by which Grasso is made to believe that he has become Matteo: he is also the maker of another *beffa*, by which Grasso is made to believe that he has dreamt of becoming Matteo.

In Manetti's version of the story, then, the theme of dream acquires a highly significant role. It indicates, with precision, the limits of Grasso's interpretative ability, particularly in comparison with Brunelleschi's ingenuity. Similar to the reference to classical antiquity in the episode with the judge, the appeal to the dream as an interpretative tool proves to be yet another sign of Grasso's intellectual weakness, the product of a pseudo-culture that is refuted by Brunelleschi's (that is Manetti's) precise rationality, which in fact he can use to carry out his plan.

At the heart of the narrative innovations introduced by Manetti to modify the development of the story of Brunelleschi and Grasso, various traditions converge. First of all, it should be noted that, in the classical tradition of writings on art, the appeal to the oneiric dimension as a key to accessing the realm of the artistic imagination is usually accompanied by some caution, or even skepticism. What Pliny writes about Parrhasius in the *Historia Naturalis* (*Natural History*) (Book 35, paragraph 71-72), significantly quoted literally by Ghiberti in his *Commentarii*, is emblematic of this attitude:

> [Parrhasius] fecundus artifex, sed quo nemo insolentius usus sit gloria artis, namque et cognomina usurpavit habrodiaetum se appellando aliisque versibus principem artis et eam ab se consummatam, super omnia Apollinis se radice ortum et Herculem, qui est Lindi, talem a se pictum, qualem saepe in quiete vidisset.

> (Parrhasius was a prolific artist, but one who enjoyed the glory of his art with unparalleled arrogance, for he actually adopted certain surnames, calling himself the 'Bon Viveur,' and in some other verses 'Prince of Painters,' who had brought the art to perfection, and above all saying he was sprung from the lineage of Apollo and that his picture of Heracles at

Lindos presented the hero as he had often appeared to him in his dreams.[6])

On the one hand, there is the artist (in this case Parrhasius) who defends his own vision, even if oneiric, precisely because it signals the supremacy of that specific artistic vision, against that of his competitors; on the other, there is the point of view of the historian (Pliny) who seems to be much more doubtful of the ultimate significance of the oneiric experience of the artist, because it is limited to the artist and cannot be extended to the viewers. It should be noted that Pliny says that Parrhasius "usurpavit" (literally 'usurped') his supremacy—that is, it was not granted to him—thus emphasizing the untenability of Parrhasius's point of view; being entirely subjective to the artist himself, it could not be verified.

Furthermore, in the scientific tradition, and particularly in that of optics, sleep was considered to be the realm of insensibility, or the inability to perceive[7]: to use Michelangelo Buonarroti's poetic expression, sleep is "not to see or hear" ("non vedere, non sentire").[8] It is significant that in the whole third section of Ghiberti's *Commentarii*, dedicated principally to issues of optics, the only reference to sleep happens to be in relation to the eyelid, which recalls Michelangelo's *non vedere*.[9]

Finally it will be useful to refer to the tradition which associates sleep with reflection on time. This is a concept derived from the classical and mercantile traditions alike and is linked to the artistic culture of the fifteenth century. Such an association is exemplified by Giannozzo's words in the third book of Leon Battista Alberti's *Della famiglia (On the Family)*:

Io quanto al tempo cerco adoperarlo bene, e studio di perderne mai nulla ... E per non perdere di cosa sì preziosa punto, io pongo in me questa regola: mai mi lascio stare in ozio, fuggo il sonno, né giacio se non vinto dalla stracchezza.[10]

(My plan, therefore, is to make as good use as possible of time, and never to waste any ... And to waste no part of such a precious thing, I have a rule that I always follow: never remain idle, I avoid sleep, and I do not lie down unless overcome by weariness.)

The artistic world is necessarily linked to the civic and mercantile premises that underlie Giannozzo's reasoning. This can be verified, once again, by referring to Ghiberti's *Commentarii*. The work opens precisely with a reference to sleep and time, by which "colui che solo giustamente è chiamato savio non permette, etiamdio quel tempo c'è dato a requie del corpo, noi el dormiamo tutto."[11] (He who alone is justly considered wise,

does not allow even the time allotted to us for resting our bodies to be spent completely sleeping.)

Sleep and dreams, therefore, on which Manetti insists in the final part of the novella, converge to underscore Brunelleschi's ingenuity and his intellectual superiority with respect to Grasso. And yet, what characterizes Brunelleschi's attitude in the novella is not so much his denial of an over-all validity to the oneiric dimension of artistic creation, that is, that of Pliny's Parrhasius. Rather, his main contribution is to restrict such a dimension within the limits of the scientific tradition of optics. Significantly, in his *Vite* (*Lives of the Artists*) Giorgio Vasari wrote the fol-lowing about Filippo Brunelleschi: "Era Filippo sciolto da le cure familiari e datosi in preda agli studi, non si curava di mangiare e dormire, solo l'in-tento suo era l'architettura." ("And since Filippo was free from domestic concerns, he abandoned himself to his studies and did not worry about eat-ing or sleeping; his only concern was architecture.")[12] Art and architecture are study, and hence require time, which is to be taken away from sleep. Fifteenth-century time is that of late nights, as can be seen by the example of Paolo Uccello. His studies on perspective, as Vasari recounts, are the fruit of those precious moments stolen from the resting of the body: "la moglie soleva dire che tutta la notte Paulo stava nello scrittoio per trovare i termini della prospettiva, e mentre ch'ella a dormire lo invitava et egli le diceva: 'O che dolce cosa è questa prospettiva!'" ([His wife] used to declare that Paolo stayed at his desk all night, searching for the vanishing points of perspective, and when she called him to bed, he used to say to her: 'Oh, what a sweet thing this perspective is!').[13]

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NOTES

[1] "Scrivendo *de pictura* in questi brevissimi comentari, acciò che 'l nostro dire sia ben chiaro, piglieremo dai matematici quelle cose in prima quale alla nostra matera apartengano; e conosciutole, quanto l'ingegno ci porgerà, esporremo la pit-tura dai primi principi della natura" (Alberti, *De pictura*, in *Opere volgari*, 3.10). English translation: "To make clear my exposition in writing this brief commen-tary on painting, I will take first from the mathematicians those things with which my subject is concerned. When they are understood, I will enlarge on the art of painting from its first principles in nature in so far as I am able" (*On Painting*, trans. John R. Spencer, 43).

[2] This attitude is very clear in the concluding words of the autobiographical section of Lorenzo Ghiberti's *Commentarii*: "io, chi avesse avute a ffare figure grandi, fuori de la naturale forma, <ò> dato le regole a condurle con perfetta

misura ... Poche cose si sono fatte d'inportanza nella nostra terra non sieno state disegnate et ordinate di mia mano" (97). The edition is based on MS. II.I.333 of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence. (To those who wish to make large figures that go beyond the natural form, I've given the rules for drawing them with perfect measure ... Few important works have been produced in our city that I have not designed and ordered myself.)

³On Brunelleschi's perspective panels, see Parronchi's study. On Brunelleschi's relationship with Florentine humanist culture of the first half of the fifteenth century, see Tanturli's essay.

⁴The studies on the novella, or the editions of the novella, which have a direct relevance to this paper are those by Tartaro, Rochon, Domenico De Robertis and Giuliano Tanturli, Borsellino, Billeri, and Procaccioli. The novella was recently translated into English and included in the volume by Lauro Martines. The quotations from the novella are taken from the editions by Ferrero and Doglio, and by Rochon, in the appendix to his article quoted above, for the vulgate and Palatino 51 versions, respectively. Page references are to the English translation of the novella in the volume by Martines.

⁵The theme of the exchange of identity is, of course, part of the classical tradition. Compare this novella to Plautus's *Amphitruo*, which seems to be its most direct narrative predecessor.

⁶Pliny, 9.310-311. See Ghiberti's quotation-translation of this passage in his *Commentarii*: "fu costui [Parrasio] abondante artefice, m'alcuno altro usò la gratia della pictura più superbamente, imperò egli usurpò e sopranomi: chiamava sé abhoclito, e con altre parole si chiamava principe della pictura e diceva l'arte esser in perfectione in lui, e diceva esser nato della radice d'Apolline; e diceva avere dipinto Hercule, in quello modo molte volte dormendo gl'era apparito" (Ghiberti 71).

⁷On this tradition see Lindberg's study on theories of vision.

⁸Michelangelo 419, poem No. 247: "Sleep is dear to me, and being of stone is dearer" ("Caro m'è 'l sonno, e più l'esser di sasso").

⁹See Ghiberti, 3.9.4 (132) and also Roger Bacon, *Perspectiva*, 1.4.3.

¹⁰See Alberti, *Della famiglia*, Libro 3. The following is the extended quotation of this passage (from *Opere volgari*, 1:176; English translation by Watkins: "Dissi io la masserizia sta in bene adoperare le cose non manco che in conservalle, vero? Adunque io quanto al tempo cerco adoperarlo bene, e studio di perderne mai nulla. Adopero tempo quanto più posso in essercizii lodati; non l'adopero in cose vili, non spendo più tempo alle cose che ivi si richiegga a farle bene. E per non perdere di cosa sì preziosa punto, io pongo in me questa regola: mai mi lascio stare in ozio, *fuggo il sonno*, né giacio se non vinto dalla stracchezza, ché sozza cosa mi pare senza repugnare cadere e giacere vinto, o, come molti, prima aversi vinti che certatori. Così adunque fo: *fuggo il sonno e l'ozio*, sempre faccendo qualche cosa. E perché una faccenda non mi confonda l'altra, e a quello modo poi mi truovi averne cominciate parecchie e fornitone niuna, o forse pur in quello modo m'abatta avere solo fatte le piggiori e lasciate adrieto le migliori, sapete voi, figliuoli

miei, quello che io fo? La mattina, prima, quando io mi levo, così fra me ricolgo in me quanto feci il dì. Ivi, se fui in cosa 'lcuna negligente, alla quale testé possa rimediarvi, subito vi supplisco: *e prima voglio perdere il sonno che il tempo*, cioè la stagione delle faccende. *Il sonno, il mangiare e queste altre simili posso io recuperare domane e satisfarle, ma le stagioni del tempo no*" [emphasis mine]. ("Did I not say that thrift consists as much in making good use of things as in preserving them? My plan, therefore, is to make as good use as possible of time, and never to waste any. I use time as much as possible on praiseworthy pursuits. I do not spend my time on base concerns. I spend no more time on anything than is needed to do it well. And to waste no part of such a precious thing, I have a rule that I always follow: never remain idle, I avoid sleep, and I do not lie down unless overcome by weariness, for it seems disgraceful to me to fall without fighting or to lie beaten—in short, like so many people, to take an attitude or defeat sooner than enter the battle. This then is what I do: I avoid sleep and idleness, and I am always doing something. To be sure that one pursuit does not crowd out another, and that I don't find I have started several things but completed none, or perhaps have done only the less important and left the best undone, do you know, my children, what I do? First thing in the morning, when I arise, I think to myself, 'What are the things I have to do today?' ... Then, if I was careless in performing some tasks, and can repair the damage immediately, I do so; for I would sooner lose sleep than lose time, that is, than let the right moment for doing something slip by. *Sleep, food, and things of that sort I can catch up on tomorrow, and take care of my needs, but the moment for doing something that must be done, no*" (171-172 [emphasis mine]).

[11]See Ghiberti, 1.1.1 (45). The passage, moreover, is taken from Athenaios (see the index of sources in the edition of Ghiberti's *Commentarii*).

[12]See Vasari, *Le vite*, 1:283. English translation: *The Lives of the Artists*, 117.

[13]Ibid., 241 (translation 83).

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LUCA D'ASCIA

THE GROTESQUE 'WORLD BEYOND'"
FROM BOCCACCIO TO CURIONE. NOTES ON THE
PARODIC VISION BETWEEN THE MIDDLE AGES AND
THE RENAISSANCE

If it is legitimate to talk about the presence of the Middle Ages in the
Renaissance in the sense of the continuity of the ecstatic and visionary lit-
erary tradition, one tied to the mysticism of the old and new religious
orders (see Ossola), it should be no less legitimate to talk about the pres-
ence of the Renaissance in the Middle Ages, that is, of a derisive and par-
odic literary current that flourishes, from Boccaccio onwards, on the mar-
gins of the 'high' tradition of devotion. The *Pasquillus extaticus* (*Pasquillus
in Ecstasy*) (c. 1540) by Celio Secondo Curione, masterpiece of a heretical
literature of exile that is still an integral part of Italian Cinquecento culture,
has behind it a lively Quattrocento production.

Giovanni Boccaccio is the father of Renaissance irony. Feeling com-
pelled to compare himself to the model provided by Dante, the author of
the *Decameron* translated the objectivity of Dante's divine vision into terms
that are purely subjective and readily intelligible.[1] He confined the terri-
bleness of vision, as a revelation of the eschatological future, to a personal
existential level. Boccaccio, the man who loved profane literature too
much, feared being castigated in Hell, as he himself had confessed to
Petrarch.[2] The dream of Saint Jerome, who was chastised for being too
Ciceronian and not sufficiently Christian, functioned for the generation of
Petrarch and Boccaccio — the latter was at the time rediscovering the
Patristic writers — as a powerful *exemplum*.

It was Lorenzo Valla, a layman proud of his political and Christian
militancy, who succeeded, in the preface to the fourth book of his
Elegantiae (Elegance of the Latin Language), in distancing this spectr.e[3]
Boccaccio had jokingly derided so-called visions, and Valla followed his
example. He did not do this as a pastime; rather, he sought to carry on, in
the very heart of both pagan and Christian Rome — a few metres, in fact,

from the Pantheon —, an anti-monastic and anti-theological polemic. And now that the historical context no longer called for the vehement tones used in the *De professione religiosorum* (*On the Profession of the Religious*) or the *Declamatio* (*Declamation*) against the false donation of Constantine (it was after the peace of Terracina and Valla's Neapolitan trial of 1444), he preferred the more subtle weapons of irony and insinuation. In the *Encomium Sancti Thomae Aquinatis* (*In Praise of St. Thomas Aquinas*) Valla sets a parodic dream vision against the revelatory one of the Dominicans. In the latter, conceived as a celebration of the Order, Saint Thomas is celebrated in heaven as the most acute interpreter of the Scriptures.[4] He is recognized as the fifth Father of the Church and, although this appears on the surface to be a glorification of Thomas, it serves in fact to emphasize the inferiority of his theological philosophy compared to the rhetorical and philological theology of the ancient Doctors.[5] This singular eulogy acts as a counterpoint to Valla's other attempt in the field of sacred oratory, a text with a very different tone: Book 3 of *De vero bono* (*On the True Good*). Here the Roman humanist writer confers on his version of the Celestial Jerusalem, with its flying angels and its victory over the devils, a voluptuous corpulence.[6] The Hell that had frightened Boccaccio no longer interests Valla. Among people of a high social and cultural level, such as the interlocutors typical of Ciceronian dialogue (see Marsh), one does not lower oneself to the level of such *territamenta* (frightening sights).[7] As Erasmus will state later on, the Christian tradition is to be interpreted *civiliter* (in a more civilized manner).[8] When, in 1434, Valla sent his exemplary sermon-vision to Pope Eugene IV, he hoped to see this piece of Christian oratory officially recognized. In 1457, with his eulogy to Saint Thomas, he established the limits of his humanist adhesion to the Papacy, as set out in his academic prolusion (*Oratio in principio sui studii*), and this did not imply substantial concessions to the dominant theological forms. We thus find reproduced in him that dualism between parodic and serious treatments of visionary literary forms, a dualism that was present in Boccaccio. This is proof of the vitality of this literary model: it was one that could be used in very different historical and stylistic contexts.

In the meantime, the diffusion of Platonism, starting with the tradition established through Leonardo Bruni's translations, put back into circulation an elitist eschatology distinct from the more popular Christian one, and this was the moving force behind a visionary literature *sui generis*. The first example of such a literature is an *Intercoenale* (Dinner Piece) by Leon Battista Alberti, entitled *Fatum et fortuna* (*Fate and Fortune*). In this text a philosopher has an eschatological dream in which the funda-

mental structure of human life is revealed to him in allegorical form. Not unlike Boethius, the philosopher meditates on the problems of fate and destiny. A shade similar to Boethius's Philosophy appears to him and shows him a line of innumerable souls. These descend from a mountain and immerse themselves in a river; we learn that they are divine fires on their way to acquire bodies from the River of Life. They will fight to save themselves from the pointed rocks of iniquity and envy, and will make their choices from among the kinds of lives outlined by Plato. Seeing that the man who governs the ship of state risks far too many dangers, Alberti favours instead the contemplative life. For the architect Alberti, the contemplative ideal has no transcendent dimension; it is contained in the invention and/or utilitarian improvement and perfection of the *bonae artes*. Using Plato and Origen as prudently disguised sources,[9] Alberti delineates an eschatology that is undoubtedly serious. It is translated into a philosophical 'vision,' one that is completely divorced from the dichotomy of hell and paradise still present in Boccaccio and in Valla. The author of the *Intercoenales* (*Dinner Pieces*), however, is not blind to the parodic possibilities inherent in the theme of 'vision,' whether pagan or Christian. To the sublime 'dream' of the philosopher (*Fatum et fortuna*) (*Fate and Fortune*), the author juxtaposes the degraded dream of the 'bibliophile' in *Somnium* (*The Dream*): Platonic wisdom is replaced by 'the wisdom of the gutter.' In an age of invective, Alberti uses instead allegorical subtlety to utter imprecations against Niccolò Niccoli. He immerses his protagonist, Libripeta, in a landscape of grotesque objects — hair, beard, lice — that in the oneiric tradition foretell an unlucky future.[10] The figurative contents recall *Fate and Fortune*.[11] Alberti substitutes the ample allegorical structure (mountains, river, boats) with an accumulation of heterogeneous objects capriciously set side-by-side. It is not a scene based on perspective but a grotesque consisting of suspended elements. The 'fields of wisdom,' popular in the encyclopedic Middle Ages, are not the backdrop for the slow and solemn procession of learned individuals, but the locale for the unseemly race of the envious, slanderous and falsely learned Libripeta. He is followed by a swarm of harmful insects, the same ones that Alberti's archdevil Momus uses to question the perfection of the universe newly created by the hand of God.[12]

Compared to *Fatum et fortuna*, the vision in *Somnium* contains elements of self-parody. Yet, not unlike Boccaccio's version, the privileged object of Alberti's parody is still the visions of preachers. If the author of the *Decameron* limited himself to satirizing the coarse inventions of preachers, as in the story of Fra Cipolla and the feather of the Angel Gabriel, then

Alberti appears to ridicule the apocalyptic current in Christian preaching (see Simoncini). The apocalypse must have meant very little to one who secretly inclined toward a Stoic-Platonic determinism. Alberti prefers a visionary inventiveness directed toward a few subtle readers capable of grasping the serious and comical nuances of his symbolism. He thus tends instead to disparage the existing forms of popular eschatology, forms that were also socially censured insofar as the Church, whose organizational structure was centred on the functions of the bishop (seen almost as a civil magistrate), was hostile to the idle and vagabond preaching of the mendicant friars.

After the Quattrocento, the parodic use of the visionary genre derived new momentum from two sources: the polemics surrounding the Reformation, and the extraordinary fortune of Erasmus's *Colloquia* (*Colloquies*), which were translated into Italian in 1542 by Pietro Lauro of Modena. Ariosto continued the tradition started by Boccaccio. He gave to Dante's *Inferno* a purely human dimension through the adventures of Astolfo[13] and, as Alberti had already done, he took up once again the theme of immortality, through the episode of Saint John's discourse. Other authors, younger than Ariosto and more engaged in religious discussions,[14] abandoned the purely literary camp. They transformed the 'vision' — the revelatory ecstasy dear to monks — into a form of propaganda against those same institutions that had used it to lay claim to a transcendent legitimization. They set the Boccaccio who was a stylistic model in opposition to the Boccaccio who was a master of anti-clericalism.[15] To Cicero, meanwhile, they opposed the 'miraculous' author of the *Sileni Alcibiadis* (*Sileni of Alcibiadis*). And to the tinsel of classicism they opposed the *utilitas* (moral teaching) of the Bible and the *veritas* (truth) of its stories in opposition to the views of Livy, who, according to Erasmus, was in error.[16] Ortensio Lando reproposes, through the indirect approach of his irony, the validity and relevance of the anti-clericalism of Boccaccio. With his *Funeral Profession (Funus)* he furnishes a singular example of parodic apotheosis, one which takes up Erasmian models and turns them againt the emerging cult of Erasmus, a cult which was beginning to leave its imprint on the more moderate humanism of Basel. As Silvana Seidel Menchi (1974) has correctly pointed out, the *Funus* is an important precursor of the *Pasquillus* by the 'Erasmian' Celio Secondo Curione. *Pasquillus*'s link to Erasmus, however, is not likely due to its theological content; the distance between Curione's rigid Zwinglian predestinationism and the synergism of Erasmus is far too great.[17] But in *Pasquillus* the author clearly never loses sight of the literary model provided by Erasmus's *Encomion* (*In Praise of Folly*) and

Colloquia (*Colloquies*). In the latter work especially Erasmus succeeded in acclimatizing the comical spirit of Boccaccio to northern humanism, thus conferring upon it a militant religious value.

As is well known, in *Pasquillus* the great humanist of Rotterdam is punished for his neutrality; he is condemned to oscillating between the 'Christian' heaven and the 'papist' one. Curione's judgment, however, is anything but negative: Pasquillus deplores the unhappy fate of the man who is refined, learned, and, above all, witty (516). To be sure, on a literary level the influence of the *Encomion* and the *Colloquia* proves to be persistent and profound. The polemical motif of Christ as the eternal infant derives from the *Peregrinatio religionis ergo (Religious Pilgrimage).*[18] Even the recourse to the Gospel of Saint John as an instrument of magic is common in the *fictio* of Erasmus and of Curione.[19] Erasmus helps Curione to re-think the diversified Lucianic and satirical-paradoxical tradition of the Quattrocento. Following upon the *Iulius exclusus (Julius Excluded From Heaven),*[20] which Curione anthologizes in *Pasquillorum tomi duo*, the traditional pasquinade or lampoon, a brief satire *ad personam*, is transformed into an ample dialogue, one that can serve as an introduction to Protestant doctrine.[21] The pasqualesque collection establishes a whole tradition and is an indispensable point of departure for the present discussion, for it establishes the authority of the *flagello* (scourge) of the princes of Rome: as a pamphleteer the protagonist Pasquillus has obtained substantial merits in his contribution to the Reformation, and these allow him to assume the role of catechist *sui generis* to Marphorius. But the character of Pasquillus, who has been nourished on the terrain of curial back-biting and slander,[22] is in a certain sense rendered noble under the influence of Erasmus. As often happens in Erasmus's *Colloquies*, the Socratic interlocutor, who brings with him a more mature ethical awareness, uses his dialectical and maieutic technique to demolish the prejudices of his interlocutor. He guides him to the recognition of the truth of the therapeutic discourse, the *iatròs lógos* of the Platonic tradition. Even Curione's Pasquillus (a stone statue that paradoxically reveals itself as a herm, a Silenic emblem), argues socratically.[23] If Curione constructs a bridge between Socrates and Lucian, his imitation of Lucian is nevertheless neither classical nor mythological;[24] it takes on, rather, the form of a 'grotesque escatalogy' that seems to lend itself particularly well to a polemical assault against monastic culture and tradition. The *Pasquillus*, like *Funus, Exorcismus, Peregrinatio religionis ergo*, satirizes the ridiculous escatology of the friars, especially the Franciscans. Curione, the 'reformed' propagandist, does not ignore the authority that popular consciousness places in the religious visions of persons possessing

the odour of sanctity. But this fact is used to expose heterodox opinions; ironically, both the protagonist and the content of the ecstatic vision are altered: the protagonist is no longer an ascetic, but Pasquillus himself, the mad commentator; the content of the revelation no longer describes sensational events and future prodigies, but rather the unmasking of the hypocrisies of the 'papist' heaven.[25]

Curione's characters, much like those of Erasmus, imitate the techniques of the friars in order to ridicule their pretentious holiness. In a quarrelsome, Ariosto-like monastery from which Silence has fled, Pasquillus studies the preliminary exercises. Halfway between asceticism and necromancy, these are used by the monks in order to induce visions. After studying them, Pasquillus uses them in the same way.[26] Traditional forms are recognizable not only in the descriptions of the vision itself,[27] but also in the representation of the thought process that introduces it and renders it necessary. The protagonist is tormented by a state of doubt that cannot be resolved by reading and meditation. The Christian meditates on divine providence and is disturbed by the contrast between, on the one hand, the optimistic theology of the dignity of man and the perfection of the universe, and, on the other, the fact that the historical and social worlds are dominated by evil. He is thus subject to the temptations of Epicureanism and Manichaeism. In fact, the cult of saints appears to him to be very close to the propitiatory and apotropaic cult of evil gods. Yet he is not able to negate the factual reality of miracles and the intervention of supernatural powers in human affairs, irreducible to the beneficent and well-ordered action of a supreme being.[28] The solution to this philosophical-theological doubt is referred to a private revelation, a vision which does justice to the cult of saints, and which shows that the many ridiculous impostors who populate the papist heaven[29] are anything but the true friends of God. The parody of a revelatory vision coincides with a positive revelation: the heaven of the papists is empty, or, better yet, is full of objects without significance or coherence; it is a deep valley containing all the things lost by human *stultitia* (folly), and upon it is built the fragile and arrogant edifice of the papacy.[30] This depiction, articulated according to the different levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy,[31] alternates with a commentary full of Biblical rationalism. Rigorously literal and scriptural, it reinforces, contrary to the degeneration of the Church, a positive model of the cult of the spirit and of truth. The parody transposes into Christian terms the alienated stare of Lucian's *Icaromenippus*,[32] and confers visual evidence — as well as an effective polemic — in favour of the elimination of a vast part of traditional devotional practice.

The parodic eschatology also includes some seriousness. The imaginary voyage to heaven to examine up close the nature of the supposed saints is anything but a joke: it becomes, rather, the confirmation of a radical theology of the anti-Christ.[33] The miracles of the 'saints' are real; they are a testimony to the fact that the time of the anti-Christ has arrived. The world, then, is apparently governed by the devil, or by a demiurge that is Gnostic and Manichaean (he of course collaborates with the elect for the greater glory of God). The eschatological 'joke' is an authentic apocalypse, and here Curione diverges from Erasmus: for the Italian humanist there can be no sense of serene superiority over the monks who are ridiculed, as there is for the cultivated and witty Erasmians. Even among the Lucianic pleasantries, *Pasquillus* echoes the Reformation theme of the Pauline conversion on the road to Damascus. If the setting for the *Colloquia* are the open spaces through which the itinerant cleric wanders, always caught between academic *gravitas* and the desire to write pungent satire,[34] the backdrop of *Pasquillus* is, by contrast, substantially closed. The trip across the sky is a parenthesis placed between two catacomb-like spaces: the never-specified corner of Papal Rome where the dialogue between the ever-threatened Pasquillus[35] and Marphorius takes place, and the underground passage through which the Reformers hope to penetrate the fortress of the Catholic Babylon. One spies and is spied upon, and the circle (*sodalitas*[36]) is formed not in the well-ordered gardens of Erasmian reason, but in the invisible hypogean Church. In this context, any aspiration to a comical representation of a daily life of moderation vanishes, as does the program of educating Epicurean and Christian elites through humour and graceful pleasantry. Erasmian humour is founded upon a supple manipulation of language; the humour of Curione, rather, derives from violent caricature. The grotesque element emerges forcefully in his portrayal, with its cursive Latin filled with Italianisms: opposites placed side by side stand out all the more. Curione transforms the images of the *Legenda aurea (Golden Legend)* into an elaborate caricature. This caricature emphasizes the inconsistencies both of the Catholic theology of good works and of a forensic conception of the Last Judgment, one that ignores the benefit or good favour of Christ.[37] The absurd position of the papist adversaries comes to light as soon as one makes a concrete attempt to imagine their conception of the world beyond: the pictorial tradition, with its popular depictions and its inevitable banalizations, indirectly confirms the Reformist argument.[38] As a good spiritualist, Curione proves to be reticent when it comes to portraying paradise in terms that are accessible to the imagination. The antithetical structure of *Pasquillus* naturally calls for a description of the

Christian heaven, but this description remains sketchy and is limited to generalities — luminous radiance, Pythagorean musical harmony — that are quite removed from the rich figurative descriptions of the papist heaven. This different treatment of the two heavens corresponds to their diverse natures: the reformist Christian heaven is Being itself, *ousìa*, and individual entities are absorbed by Christ. The papist heaven, on the other hand, is nothing more than an image, a disquieting product of the imagination.[39]

This explosion of grotesque writing involves the reinterpretation in a grotesque key of the current, imaginary treatment of the sacred, and has close ties to a rudimentary philosophy of religion. Curione raises the question of the origin of idolatry, which he explains as the misinterpretation of an emblematic image[40]: the saints are considered the hypostasis of certain allegorical figures devised by the learned as a means of instructing the populace. It is evidently necessary to rediscover in its pure conceptual form the Christian truth that lies behind the imaginative universal. On the other hand, Curione recognizes the existence of an original wisdom common to both Christians and pagans, expressed through images and parables. These have been altered and corrupted by the people, who are deaf to the paradoxical truth of Pythagorean metempsychosis as they are to the teachings of Christ.[41]

Curione's *Pasquillus* is situated at the confluence of the two visionary traditions discussed up to this point, one serious and the other parodic. The serious tradition can be seen as the presence of the Middle Ages in the Renaissance. It presents an eschatological truth in the form of a privileged revelation, one that is verified during sleep or ecstasy. The parodic vision replaces the eschatogical content with an imposture or fraud, either conscious (as in the Boccaccian examples) or imposed (as in the case of Alberti's Libripeta, who believes he is raving without impunity in the country of dreams, and is punished for his surly misanthropy). The serious vision, as an ecstatic moment in the sermon, constitutes a fundamental aspect of sacred oratory. The parodic vision inserts a critical element into the celebratory nature of the epideictic rhetorical genre (as in Valla's *In Praise of St. Thomas Aquinas*). *Pasquillus extaticus* contains both didactic and satiric aspects: revelation is possible only when it involves the demolition of an imposture. The Italian Reformation could not admit any other source of eschatological truth if not the enlightened study of the Bible. Its heaven, stripped of all colour, could only be concretely portrayed as the antithesis of a pagan and papist heaven. The city of the seven walls is not the Celestial Jerusalem, but the City of Dis that has risen to heaven thanks to the miracles of the Anti-Christ. The Reformation notion of justification

by faith alone resulted in the emptying out of hell. It becomes identified rather with that despair of divine mercy that had consumed Francesco Spiera of Cittadella, who had been elevated to the level of symbol of the unhappy conscience. "Not all of us will rise again," proclaimed the Anabaptists, reading St. Paul according to Valla and Erasmus, as if the inconsolable conscience of the man who has no faith or religious wisdom (*insipiens*), of the Pomponazzian philospher, were enough to replace hell: "Death is the same for men and beasts" (see Stella 74). In this religious context, the lines between sacred and profane, serious vision and parodic vision, literary tradition and grotesque invention, tend to become blurred for Quattrocento writers and for Ariosto too. Hell is neither below the earth nor at the source of the Nile in the mysterious country of the priest Gianni-Senapo: hell is in heaven, at the vertex of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The real heaven is hidden behind the appearances of the imposture. Similarly, in the *Sileni* of Erasmus the visible world veils the spiritual one, and in Curione's *De amplitudine beati regni Dei* (*On the Grandeur of the Blessed Kingdom of God*) the exteriority of the ecclesiastical sacraments conceals the universal, invisible efficacy of grace. The precious gems of the cathedrals (more precious when they are mounted on the walls of Paradise) are not symbolic of the papist Jerusalem. Much more symbolic are the mitres, the crosiers, and the other liturgical objects that those gems had ennobled. They have been rendered profane, snatched away from the sacristies only to be hoarded up in heaven. Like the foolish prayers of the men of the Lucianic tradition, or the obscene materials found in the dreams of Libripeta, they indecently clutter it. The traditional heaven, the one of Aristotle, Ptolemy and Scholastic theology, is reduced to a literary backdrop for mimics, comics and hystrionic Sileni. Curione, the religious pantheist of the *Araneus on Divine Providence* will be followed by Giordano Bruno, the speculative pantheist of *The Cause, Principle and One*. The Counter-Reformation will once again place the ecstatic vision in all of its sublime seriousness on the altar, but it will not be able to remove the grotesque image of superstition: the parodic vision (see Stoll) will remain a part of European art right up to the enlightened Romanticism of Goya.

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NOTES

[1] I refer obviously to the famous novella of Nastagio degli Onesti (*Decameron*, 4:8).

2The source for this episode is Petrarch's *Seniles*, 1:5 (May 28, 1362). See Branca 123-124.

3Valla, *Oraciones y Prefacios*, 228-246.

4"Non me fugit quosdam, qui de hac re, hoc die, ex hoc loco orationem habuerunt, non modo nonnulli doctorum Ecclesiae secundum Thomam fecisse, sed etiam omnibus anteposuisse. Qui cur nulli secundum facere debeamus ex eo probabant, quod quidam integerrimae vitae frater inter orandum viderit Augustinam, quem summum theologum statuunt, et una Thomam, mirabili utrumque praeditum maiestate, Augustinumque dicentem audierit Thomam esse sibi in gloria parem" (Ibid., 304-306). Valla, "In Praise of Saint Thomas Aquinas" in *Renaissance Philosophy*. "I am quite well aware that some men who have spoken on this subject from this podium today have not only placed Thomas second to none of the doctors of the Church, but have even set him ahead of them all. As to why we should consider him second to none, these men give this proof, that a certain Brother of very holy life, in the midst of his prayer, saw Augustine, whom they consider the greatest of the theologians, and with him Thomas, both surrounded with wondrous majesty, and he heard Augustine declaring that Thomas was equal to him in glory.") (22).

5"Erunt itaque quinque paria theologiae principium, ante thronum Dei et agnum, continentia cum viginti quatuor illis senioribus. Canunt enim semper apud Deum scriptores rerum sanctarum: primum par Basilius et Ambrosius, canens lyra; secundum Nazianzenus et Hieronimus, canens cythara; tertium Chrysostomus et Augustinus, canens psalterio; quartum Dionysus et Gregorius, canens tibia; quintum Damascenus et Thomas, canens cymbalis" (Ibid., 316-318). ("And so there will be five pairs of princes of theology singing praises before the throne of God and the Lamb with the twenty-four elders; for writers of sacred things sing forever before god; the first pair, Basil and Ambrose, playing on the lyre; the second, Nazianzen and Jerome, playing on the zither; the third, Chrysostom and Gregory, playing on the psaltery; the fourth, Dionysius and Gregory, playing on the flute; the fifth, the Damascene and Thomas, playing on the cymbals") (26). The Quattrocento audience could not possibly miss the Pauline reference to the "cymbalis," full of science but lacking *caritas*. This is not the only ironic passage in the *Encomium*: "So that it may be clear that, though our Thomas Aquinas is a confessor, still he is not for that reason to be relegated to a place below the martyrs; it is my opinion ... that he is in no way inferior ... to Thomas the archibishop of Canterbury, who, good shepherd that he was, died for his flock to protect his clergy from being fleeced" (19). "Ut appareat Thomam nostrum Aquinatem, etsi confessorem, non tamen esse continuo post martyres reponendem, ut mea fert opinio, nihilo inferiorum ... Thoma episcopo Cantuariensi, qui tamquam pastor bonus pro grege suo, *ne clerus bonis spoliaretur*, occubuit" (Ibid., 296 [emphasis added]). On the parodic component in the *Encomium Thomae Aquinatis*, see Blanchard 48-52.

6Valla, *De vero falsoque bono*, 121-136.

[7]Cf. Ibid., 117-118.

[8]Erasmus, "De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis," in *Opera omnia.* After criticizing teachers for their excessive use of corporeal punishment, Erasmus refers to the severity of the Old Testament, and comments: "Hic quidam occinent nobis Hebraeorum oracula ...'Curva cervicum filii in iuventate et tunde latera illius dum infans est.' Eiusdem castigatio fortasse congruebat olim Iudaeis. Nunc oportet Hebraeorum dicta *civilius* interpretari [emphasis added]" (62). ("At this point someone may din into our ears such Old Testament proverbs as ... 'Bend your son's neck in his youth, and bruise his sides while he is a child'. Perhaps for the Jews of a long time ago this sort of discipline was appropriate, but nowadays we must interpret these sayings from the Old Testament more liberally") (*Collected Works of Erasmus*, 26.332).

[9]As usual, Alberti expresses his ideas with caution. However, while the text seems to indicate the pre-existence of souls, the figure of God as creator is completely absent: "Nam ut primum in fluvium umbrarum quaeque descendisset, ita illico infantum ora et membra induisse videbantur, ac deinceps, quo longius fluvio raperentur, eo illis quidem aetatis et membrorum personis adcrevisse intuebar" (Alberti, *Opera inedita*, 137). ("As soon as each shade had entered the river, it seemed at once to take on an infant's face and limbs. Then, the further the river carried the shades, the more I saw their age and members increase") (*Fate and Fortune*, in *Dinner Pieces*, 23). The souls declare: "Sumus enim coelestes, ut et ipse tu quidem es, igniculi qui humanitati debemur." ("Like you, we are celestial sparks destined for human life.") They urge that the investigation not be pushed too far, by tackling the question of the origin of souls: "desine, homo, istiusmodi dei deorum occulta investigare longius quam mortalibus liceat." ("Cease, O man, cease searching into the secrets of the gods deeper than mortals are allowed") (23-24). We should not forget the influence that Origen had on the culture of Florence in the early Quattrocento; this is documented in Matteo Palmieri's *Città di vita.*

[10]Cf., for example, Artemidorus, "Having a few lice ... is a good sign ... but if there are many lice and they appear in great numbers, it is unpropitious and signifies a lingering illness, captivity or great poverty. For lice also thrive under these conditions" (*The Interpretation of Dreams*, 160). It is likely, however, that the derivation is not direct: Artemidorus's text was not reintroduced into the West until after the fall of Byzantium.

[11]The allegorical backdrop is the same: "at the foot of a very high mountain, where human destinies are determined, there runs an impetuous river. Its swift torrent is said to swell with the tears of wretches and mourners" (*The Dream*, in *Dinner Pieces*, 68). Once again, it is the River of Life, exposed to the uncertainties of fortune. The stylistic register, however, is quite different. Parody is obvious, for example, in the substitution of the grotesque and repugnant old women, used as rafts, for the imperial ships and for the planks of the arts used by men in *Fate and Fortune.* Another figurative detail common to the two texts are the bladders, which in *Fate and Fortune* symbolize adulators and in *The Dream* political power. *The Dream* emphasizes the expressionistic and grotesque details: thus the rocks of

Fatum et fortuna become the biting faces of the slanderers that populate the River of Life.

[12]Cf. Alberti, *Momo o del principe*: "Inde igitur [Momus] rem se dignam excogitavit. Universum enim terrarum orbem cimice, tinea, fuconibus, crabronibus, statanionibus et eiusmodi obscenis et sui similibus bestiolis refertissimum reddidit" (32). (Therefore he [Momus] then devised a plan worthy of him. For he made the entire world to abound in bed-bugs, maggots, bees, wasps, cockroaches and foul insects of this sort, which shared his likeness.)

[13]Cf. the episodes of Senapo and of Lidia in *Orlando Furioso*, 33.101.34 and 47.

[14]Cf. Ariosto, "Satire,"6.43-58, in *Opere minori*: "Se Nicoletto o fra Martin fan segno / D'infedele o d'eretico, ne accuso / Il saper troppo, e men con lor mi sdegno: / perché, salendo lo intelletto in suso / Per veder Dio, non de' parerci strano / se talor cade giù cieco e confuso. / Ma tu, del qual lo studio è tutto umano ... / dimmi, che truovi tu che sì la mente / Ti debbia avviluppar, sì tòrre il senno / Che tu non credi come l'altra gente?" (563) "If Nicoletto and Brother Martin show signs of unbelief or heresy, I accuse their excessive knowledge and am less angry with them; when the intellect ascends on high to see God, we must not think it strange if sometimes it falls down blind and bewildered. But you, whose study is entirely human ... tell me, what have you found that so confuses your minds and so deprives you of your sense that you do not believe as others do? " (*The Satires of Ludovico Ariosto*, 155).

[15]Cf. the effective irony of Ortensio Lando in his *Paradossi*: "Ditemi per cortesia o Bocacceschi, cercò egli altro nella novella di Gianotto Giudeo, che di puorci in odio la santisima Romana corte, sempre chiamando la vita de preti hor scelerata, hor lorda, non ponendo mente alla sua più d'ogni altra brutta. Che pensò egli quando scrisse di frate Rinaldo, dello agnolo Gabriele e di Don Felice? se non di metterci in disgratia e frati, che pur sono la siepe e il bastione contra de gli Heretici e infelici noi, se essi con le lor buone dottrine e tanti essempii non ci havesser diffesi dalle pestilenti heresie. Nella novella di Ser Chiappelletto a che altro attese che a levarci dal cuore la riverentia et divotione de santi?" (99r-v). (Tell me, please, you followers of Boccaccio, did he ever attempt, in the novella of Gianotto Giudeo, to do anything other than to make us hate the most holy Roman court, always calling the lives of priests now wicked, now filthy, never realizing that his own life was far worse than all others? What was he thinking about when he wrote about Frate Rinaldo, the Angel Gabriel and Don Felice, if not to disgrace holy friars, who are the barrier and the bastion against heretics, and to make us unhappy, as would happen if the holy friars with their good teachings and many good examples did not defend us from the pestilence of heresy? And what else did he set about to do in the novella of Ser Ciappelletto if not to remove from our hearts the reverence and devotion of saints?)

[16]Cf. Erasmus, *Il Ciceroniano*: "Hic mihi confer, si libet, fabulosum Herodotum cum Mose ... confer libros Iudicum et Regum cum Tito Livio, qui non raro secum ipse dissidet in rerum gestarum narratione, tantum abest, ut

nusquam aberret a vero" (154). ("So just compare, if you please, Herodotus, that teller of tales, with Moses … compare the books of the Judges and the Kings with Livy, who doesn't even write a consistent account of Rome's exploits, let alone a true one") (*Collected Works of Erasmus*, 28.393). For Valla's attitude toward Livy, see the *Invectivae in Bartholomeum Facium*, in *Opera omnia*, 460-632.

[17] Cf. Luca D'Ascia, "Celio Secondo Curione: erasmista o antierasmista."

[18] Cf. *Pasquillus*: "M[arphorius]: Sed ubi erat Christus? P[asquillus]: Illum non vidi: sed iussus exire concilium, ante palatium vidi ludentem cum quibusdam Geniis puerulum, de quo cum meum ducem interrogarem, dixit Christum esse, qui ibi luderet, et omnia commisisset matri" (514). (M[arphorius]: But where was Christ? P[asquillus]: I didn't see him, but having been ordered to leave the council, I saw a little boy playing with some genii in front of the palace. When I asked my guide about him, he said it was Christ who was playing there and who had entrusted all things to his mother.) Cf. also Erasmus's *Religious Pilgrimage*: "They demanded everything from me alone, as if my Son were always a baby (because he is carved and painted as such at my bosom), still needing his mother's consent and not daring to deny a person's prayer; fearful, that is, that if he did deny the petitioner something, I for my part would refuse him the breast when he was thirsty" (*Colloquies*, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 40.625).

[19] "Collo vero oportebat appensum esse Evangelium Divi Ioannis, In principio erat Verbum" (*Pasquillus*, 449). But it was fitting for the Gospel of St. John, "In the beginning was the word," to be hung from the neck; Cf. Erasmus, *The Exorcism and the Ghost*: "On the neck [of the vase] was placed the so-called sacred robe from which the beginning of the Gospel according to St. John was hanging. In addition, a sacred stole (as it is called), with the opening verses of St. John's Gospel hanging from it, was hung over Faunus's shoulders" (*Colloquies*, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 39.537).

[20] The paternity of *Julius Excluded* is a much debated question. I feel that the undoubtedly Erasmian core of the dialogue was reelaborated in a philo-French and openly conciliar direction before the edition of 1517, probably by a humanist from Basel belonging to the circle of Boniface Amerbach. Nevertheless, the attributions to Hutten and to Fausto Andrelini are certainly unfounded. Cf. Ijsewijn.

[21] The *Pasquillus* indeed performed this function in numerous cases, as can be seen from the Inquisition documents: cf. Menchi, 1987, 92 (the trial of Guido Rangone, gentleman of Modena), 97 (Giovanni Antonio Maffei, a schoolmaster from Padua), 242 (Aurelio Cicuta), 244 (Franco Pasaggio, the Genoese governor of Corscia), 288 (Fra Bonaventura Clozio of Venice), 447 (Nicolino Vitalba di Nembro of Bergamo); Biondi 30 (captain Antonio da Cervia, burned at Bologna in 1567, read the pamphlet of Curione to his soldiers), 31 (Pietro Carnesecchi and an anonymous servant of Pietro Paolo Vergerio, bishop of Capodistria). Francesco Riccio, secretary of Cosimo I de' Medici, also had a copy of *Pasquillus*.

[22] Pasquino attempts to enter the papist Heaven, but the old guardian sends him away: "hoc coelum non patere momis aut mimis" (*Pasquillus*, 455). (This

heaven is not open to a Momus or a mocker.) Pasquino, however, is not impressed: "Risi subito, intra me dicens, Oportet hic multa ridicula esse, quod momos vitant et mimos." (I laughed immediately saying to myself, there must be many ridiculous things here, since they shun mockers and the likes of Momus.)

[23]"M[arphorius]: Nimis Socratice mecum disputas: non satis hoc intelligo, hos sorites" (*Pasquillus*, 436-437). (M[arphorius]: You argue too socratically with me: I don't understand this well enough, these tricks of logic.)

[24]"De dijs Christianorum loquimur, Pasquille: mittamus nugas Lucianicas suo authori" (*Pasquillus*, 428). (We speak of the gods of the Christians, Pasquillus; let's leave Lucianic pleasantries to their author.)

[25]"M[arphorius]: Sed unum te interrogabo, cuius pene iam eram oblitus. Si isti tot visionibus scatent, cur tantis superstitionibus, tantisque mandacijs (ut soles dicere) adhuc involvuntur? P[asquinus]: Quia veritatem rerum sacrarum ostendi sibi non postulant, sed alias nugas, quae interim contra pietatem sunt" (*Pasquillus*, 450). (M[arphorius]: But I will ask you one thing, which I had nearly forgotten. If those people abound in so many visions, why are they (as you often say) wrapped up in so many superstitions and deceits? P[asquinus]: Because they don't ask that the truth of sacred matters be revealed to them, but rather they ask for other pleasantries, which are sometimes impious.)

[26]The description of sorcery in Curione is very close to a famous episode in Cellini's *Vita* in which Cellini describes a necromantic experiment that ends miserably and is quickly forgotten by the adventurous protagonist himself. Cellini's sarcastic conclusion is highly emblematic: "Con questi ragionamenti noi arrivammo alle case nostre, e ciascun di noi tutta quella notte sognammo diavoli" (Cellini, *La vita*, 133-137). ("Engaged in this conversation, we reached our homes, and each one of us dreamed all that night of devils") (*Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, 152).

[27]Thus we find the sphere of fire, the appearance of the Angel, the biblical model of the chariot of Elijah. Cf. *Pasquillus*, 451-452.

[28]"P[asquillus]: Interea dum video omne meum studium male collocatum iri, coepi nonnihil dubitare de rebus humanis, qua sorte regerentur, haesitabam mecum de Dei providentia, de Dei iustitia, videns iustorum passim afflictionem, et impiorum fortunatam sortem. Saepe mecum cogitabam, quid est quaeso quod inter homines dispensat iam? persuasus aliud fere quiddam esse, quam in rebus caeteris naturae. M[arphorius]: Ista erat vera ad Epicurismum via" (*Pasquillus*, 430). (P[asquillus]: In the meantime, while I saw that all my learning would be poorly arranged, I began to doubt some things concerning human affairs and by what chance they're governed; to myself I was unsure of God's providence, of God's justice, seeing here and there the affliction of the just and the fortunate lot of the impious. I would often think to myself, what is it (I ask) that governs things now among men, convinced almost that it was something other than that which governs the other affairs of nature. M[arphorius]: That was the true way towards Epicureanism.)

[29]Cf. *Pasquillus*, 461-463, where the following saints appear: Saint Domenic, maker of rosaries, Saint Bernard, concerned that the devil may soil Clairvaux, and Saint Thomas Aquinas, apologist for the ox Api in his dissertation on *látreia, doulía* and *hyperdoulía* (cf. Sancti Thomae de Aquino, *Summa Theologica*, IIa, IIae, qu. 103, satirized in Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*). As in Erasmus, provocation is linked to the traditional fight against 'paganism.'

[30]"M[arphorius]: Nullam vidisti materiem fundamentorum? ... P(asquillus): Erant cuculla, rosaria, vestes sordidae, detonsi crines, vela vestalium, mille vestium, mille calceorum, mille rituum formae. Ad haec putres pisces, mitrae coronae triplices et varii libelli, quae omnia tophis erant et calce commixta et haec erat basis fundamentorum" (*Pasquillus*, 458). (M[arphorius]: Have you seen no foundational material? ... P(asquillus): There were cowls, rosaries, coarse clothes, tonsured hair, the veils of virgins, the forms of a thousand clothes, shoes and rites; along with these, add rotten fish, the threefold crowns of the mitre and various little books, all of which had been mixed together with tufa stone and lime, and this was the base of the foundation.)

[31]The papist Babylon is a fortified city divided into seven levels: monks, confessors, martyrs, virgins, prophets. These are followed by the tribunal and finally by the palace of the Lady of the Apocalypse where the secret consistory is held; and the churchmen deliberate on how best to keep the princes and peoples of Europe in ignorance. The first levels are a parodic echo of the Dionysian tradition. In his description of the 'Christian' heaven, on the other hand, Curione eliminates all hierarchical elements (there are no distinctions between angelic orders, no gradations of beatitude among the elect), insisting instead on absolute equality.

[32]"Cum diu mecum disquisivissem aliquam in coelum viam, nunquam hanc invenire potui, quamvis in dies de Protheo, *de Icaromenippo* multa legerem, qui eo dicebantur contendisse: sed qua via, silebatur" (*Pasquillus*, 445 [emphasis added]). (Although for a long time I had sought out some path to heaven, I was never able to find this path; although I read much concerning Protheus and *Icaromenippus*, who were said to lead there, there was but silence as to which path to take.)

[33]"Mirra narras. Ergo ista administratio rerum ad veris sanctis non egreditur [*sic*]. P[asquillus]: Non, Marphori. M[arphorius]: Scisne a quibus? P[asquillus]: Scio, ab immundis spiritibus, qui hominibus pulchris titulis illudunt. Nescis Dominum in Evangelio dixisse, Antichristum miraculis fidem eversurum? (*Pasquillus*, 525). (You tell of wonderful things. Therefore such administration of matters doesn't proceed to the true saints. P[asquillus]: No, Marphorius. M[arphorius]: Do you know by whom? P[asquillus]: I know: by impure spirits, who deceive men with beautiful titles. Don't you know what the Lord said in the Gospel, that the Antichrist would overturn faith through miracles?) Cf. Rotondò19-164.

[34]Cf. "Spongia adversus aspergines Hutteni" (*Sponge Against Hutten's Aspersions*), in Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, 9.1: "mihi placet haec libertas in conviviis et familiaribus colloquiis, qua saepe utor immodice, aliorum animos ex meo aestimans ... Quoties in conviviis imperium transtulimus in Iulium pontificem et summum pontificium in Maximilianum Caesarem! Deinde collegia monacharum

matrimonio copulavimus collegiis monachorum. Mox descripsimus ex illis exercitum adversus Turcas, deinde colonias ex iisdem in novas insulas. Breviter universum orbis statum vertebamus. Sed haec senatusconsulta non inscribebantur aureis tabulis, sed vino, sic ut sublatis poculis nemo meminisset quid a quo dictus esset" (172). (This freedom in banquets and friendly conversations pleases me, and I often over-indulge in it, assessing the minds of others from the standpoint of my own … How often in conversation did we transfer the empire to Pope Julius and supreme power to Emperor Maximilian! Next we joined in marriage the communities of nuns to the communities of monks. Soon from them we formed an army against the Turks, then from the same we established colonies on new islands. In short time we overturned the entire state of the world. But such "Senate decrees" were not inscribed in gold tablets, but in wine, so that once the glasses were born away, nobody remembered what was said by whom.)

[35]Cf. *Pasquillus*: "M[arphorius]: Agnosco errorem, tu deinceps mihi eris pro Gratiano Pasquille. Sane debebas ista in triviis declamitare. P[asquinus]: Auditoribus fakinis scilicet. Non tamen id me puderet, nisi timerem decretum Pontificis illius Germani revocatum iri … ut rursus efficerer pater Tyberinus ex Pasquillo" (422-423). (M[arphorius]: I acknowledge the error; you will stand then for me in place of Gratianus, Pasquillus. Clearly you were obliged to declaim those things in the streets. P(asquillus): Namely, to those listening porters. However it wouldn't shame me, unless I feared that the decree of that German pope would be revoked … so that, out of a Pasquillus, I would again be made a father Tyberius.)

[36]Cf., for example, *Pasquillus*: "Nolim hunc nostrum congressum cuiquam notum esse: quando iam omnibus exosa veritas, quae hic apud te perquiritur" (529). (I would not like this meeting of ours to be known to everyone, when already the truth, which is diligently sought in your presence here, is despised by all.)

[37]Typical of this way of proceeding is the reference to Saint Michael. Curione argues against the legend which claimed that the Archangel had installed himself on Mount Gargano. The cowherd, from whom the mountain had supposedly gotten its name, had gone in search of a lost bull. Upon finding him, he fired a poisonous arrow at him in a fit of anger, an arrow that instead turned around and struck the person who had fired it. With this miracle, Saint Michael announced to the citizens of the area that he would from then on establish himself on the mountain as guardian (cf. Jacobus de Voragine [sic], *The Golden Legend*: 2.201-202). Curione further distorts the text of the *Golden Legend*: "P[asquillus]: Dicebant illum esse D. Michaelem. M[arphorius] Illum qui in monte Gargano dicitur amasse taurum? P[asquillus]: Ille ipse" (*Pasquillus extaticus*, 503). (P[asquillus]: They used to say he was Saint Michael. M[arphorius]: You mean he who is said to have loved a bull on Mount Gargano? P[asquillus]: The very same.) He criticizes the author of the *Legenda aurea* because Lucan had already named Mount Gargano in the *Bellum Civile*. But above all he invents in pure legendary style the struggle between the Archangel and the devil (not found in Jacopo da Varagine) for the possession of a soul: "Iratus [Michael] gladio caedit daemonem,

et cruce rubra quam in pectore gerit minatur et quietum esse iubet. Daemon vero tandem ad officium reductus, capite stat contracto, non aliter ac solet vulpes gallinam suffurata, quam si rusticus in furto offendat, baculoque minetur, illa se totam contrahit, suam nihilomminus gallinam mordicus retinens" (*Pasquillus*, 502). (Angered, [Michael] struck the demon with his sword, and he threatened him with the red cross which he bore on his chest and ordered him to be quiet. Indeed, the demon, reduced at last to obedience, stood with his head bowed, just as a fox will do who has stolen away a hen. If the peasant comes upon him and threatens him with a stick, he withdraws completely, nevertheless still holding the hen in his teeth.) This comparison has an exactness that recalls Dante, and is very far from Cinquecento canons of decorum, especially in connection with the Last Judgement; the humanistically educated reader cannot but exclaim with Marphorius: "Pulchra comparatio per Iovem." (A lovely analogy, by Jove.)

[38]"Porro antequam haec argumenta haberem, ipsi pictores fecerunt me saepe de hoc igne [purgatorio] dubitare. Nam cum pingerent homines elevatis in altum brachjs et pedibus, crinibus et barba integrum et inviolatum corpus demonstrantes, putavi hunc ignem non magnam habere efficaciam" (*Pasquillus*, 473). (Moreover, before I would accept these arguments, painters themselves often caused me to have doubts about this [purgatorial] fire. For when they depicted men with their feet and hands raised in the air, showing their bodies complete and their hair and beards unharmed, I thought that this fire was not greatly effective.)

[39]"P[asquillus]: Oportet te scire, esse magnam differentiam inter solem et lunam qui hunc orbem quotidie ambiunt, et inter eos qui hanc reginam [the Lady of the Papist heaven] vestiunt. M[arphorius]: Si ea est differentia, *quae inter res fictas aut pictas et veras invenitur*, certe erit magna differentia [emphasis added]" (*Pasquillus*, 506). (P[asquillus]: You should know that there's a great difference between the sun and the moon, which circle this world daily, and between those who dress this queen. M[arphorius]: If it is that difference *which is found between fictional or depicted things and real things*, certainly the difference will be great.)

[40]"Ne tibi persuadeas Pasquille, hunc tam vastum Gigantem unquam fuisse, sed veterum et sapientissimorum Graecorum, crescente iam republica Christiana, esse inventum, qui totum Christianum hominem et vitam eius, omnibus exponere volentes, in una imagine omnia complexi sunt, cuius effigiem vocaverunt Christophorum: quod unumquemque Christianum, qualis esse deberet, referret ... Et fuit istud nihil aliud, quam Christianorum *gnothi sè autòn*" (*Pasquillus*, 481-483). (Don't persuade yourself, Pasquillus, that this giant was ever so large, but rather it was an invention of the ancient and wisest Greeks during the time when the Christian republic was still growing. Desiring to explain to everyone the complete Christian man and his life, they combined everything in a single image, which they called Christopher: this would relay to each and every Christian what he ought to be ... and this was nothing other than the "know thyself" of the Christians.)

[41]Cf. Curionis, *Araneus seu de Providentia Dei*: "Haec cum paulo subtilius Pythagoras, ille reconditae philosophiae princeps, disputaret, ut tunc erant nova,

secus ac debuerant accepta sunt, estque ipse ludibrio habitus quorundam prava aemulatione ... Adeo periculosum est, Paradoxa et remotiores paulo sententias efferre: quod verum esse facile comperiet, qui quonam pacto Christi placita, cum primum vulgari coeperunt, accepta fuerint, animadverterit" (41-42). (Since Pythagoras, that founder of recondite philosophy, somewhat more subtly disputed these things, they were accepted, as they were then new, but had deserved otherwise to be accepted; and he himself was exposed to mockery through the base envy of certain people ... Therefore it is dangerous to express paradoxes and somewhat more obscure opinions. He who considers in what way the pleas of Christ were accepted, when they were first spread among the people, will easily discover this to be true.) Curione's positive assessment of Pythagoras derives naturally from the Florentine Platonic tradition: cf., for example, Marsilio Ficino's proem to Plato's *Parmenides*: "Pythagorae Socratisque et Platonis mos erat ubique divina mysteria figuris [*sic*] involucris obtegere, sapientiam suam contra Sophistarum iactantiam modeste dissimulare, iocari serio et studiosissime ludere" (Ficino 1137). (It was the custom of Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato everywhere to conceal divine mysteries in figurative guises, discreetly to distinguish their wisdom from the boasting of the Sophists, to joke with serious intent and to play most studiously).

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RAFFAELE GIRARDI

ANTON FRANCESCO DONI AND
THE BUILDING OF DREAMS

It was in early 1997, in Atwerp, that I found myself participating in a live-
ly and stimulating colloquium on Renaissance European dialogue. While
discussing some original traits of certain dialogical texts, ones involving the
'fantastic,' I had occasion to refer in passing to problems related to 'vision'
and, to put it in more secular and mundane and, hence, modern terms, to
the visual element in Anton Francesco Doni's concept of the theatre of the
world.[1] Over the last forty years or so critics have begun more and more to
recognize in this singular writer and polygraph not only a representative of
the so-called group of minor authors of the sixteenth century — one who
was, nevertheless, in a bizarre way well known in his day — but also one
of the more surprising and representative figures of the Italian Renaissance
at least in its anti-classical aspect.[2]

In this paper I wish to weave once again the threads of my earlier dis-
cussion. I begin with the same basic concepts, but with the goal of carry-
ing out a more careful analysis of the hidden meaning of the relationship
between the theoretical-practical elaboration of dreams and the highly
salvific function of fantastic writing, which Doni establishes with exem-
plary clarity. His writing has two levels of meaning: it is designed to achieve
both a diegesis of the vicissitudes of life, and a surreal mimesis which is
essentially the allegorical dramatization of the entire tradition of oneiric
imaginings.

His characters, members of what he calls the Academy of the Pellegrini
or Pilgrims, display a highly articulated and ambiguous familiarity with the
masters of great visionary literature. In his work entitled *Mondi* (*Worlds*),
which refers to an emblematic canon comprising Virgil, Dante, Palmieri,
Sannazaro and, marginally, Ovid, Aesop and Lucian, Doni launches, in the
mode of a subtle and in truth never explicitly-mentioned skirmish, a per-
manent challenge to the meaning of their writings. He does so for the sake
of a thoroughly deliberate game that does not lack its own cynical ambi-
tion. Through the sophisticated mechanism of burlesque discourse, this
lusus attempts to cast doubt on both the absolute meaning and the moder-

nity of the languages of vision, and it does so while seeking to organize them into a canon.

This undeclared challenge is governed above all by the search for a historically unprecedented dialogue on the possibility of establishing a new cultural form or, as he terms it, a new and untrodden pathway ("nuovo e inusitato cammino") (*Mondi*, 189), which is presented on the literary stage as a metaphor for a complex intellectual process. This process is conceived as an approach to the meaning of modernity, of that mannerist modernity of the sixteenth century which, even while following the script of a fiction enacted by a burlesque confraternity, involves a collective voyage by the members of the Academy of the Pellegrini. Their voyage exorcises the idea of a mystic immobility, of a solitary conquest: it is a surreal group ascesis, which is carried out in perennial movement[3] and is transformed into a sort of multiform promotional campaign in favour of a new playful form of knowledge of the world. Its ambition is to place the subject in a different perspective, in the unprecedented context of plurality and contiguousness. This fictional subject is destined to travel unharmed along the impracticable (and ideologically risky) itinerary of late-Renaissance mannerism, which saw the fading of the dreams of renewal that the severity of the Counter-Reformation attempted to render even darker and more problematic.

First and foremost, it is noteworthy that the debate in Doni's *Mondi* on the nature of dreams (with relevant confirmation in his work entitled *Marmi* [*Marble Steps*] and elsewhere) is, in the end, nothing but a mimesis of that problematic utopia of playful knowledge.

First of all, plurality. From the viewpoint of the Pellegrini, who at the beginning of *Mondi* speak through the character of Elevato, the view is not that of the abstract and remote infinity of worlds handed down by the ancient science of Democritus.[4] It is, rather, the dimension characteristic of a reality that can be represented as the image of a great machine.

Next, *contiguousness* is the guarantor, in a 'playful' cosmography, of the marriage between certainty, which is confirmed by God's word ("si conferma con la parola di Dio") (6), and a discreet narration which, aware of its limits, does not intend to cause rupture, but is yet the bearer of great and poorly concealed cognitive ambitions. It arranges itself, in the most creative and imaginative part of the performance — that is, the bizarre architecture/sequence *Mondo misto, Mondo immaginato, Mondo risibile, Mondo savio* (Mixed World, Imagined World, Laughable World, Wise World) —, which goes beyond the traditional doctrinal scheme of *Mondo piccolo* (Small World) and *Mondo grande* (Large World), that is, of microcosm and

macrocosm, as a different space for writing. It is a space presented to the readers who, in this situation, are themselves in need of a different imaginative order.

> Ora noi seguiteremo di stampare non, come s'era ordinato, il *Mondo Massimo* ma l'*Imaginato*, ... per framettere le piacevoli lezioni al lettore, il quale, stracco tal volta di contemplare le misteriose parole cavate dai profondi dottori ..., lo vogliamo sollevare alquanto con alcune invenzioni curiose. Se vi venisse adunque, lettori spirituali, ancora le piacevolezze a fastidio, il medesimo libro che avete in mano vi potrà sodisfare di dottrina e di spirito, perché, ritrovando le cose scritte a vostro proposito, pascetevi di quelle; e gli altri, che non sono ancora tanto perfetti nelle cose di Dio, si disporranno con questi mezzi, perché avranno alcune scale coperte da salire più alto. Onde si ritroveranno, al par di voi, (per aventura) a godere il bene dell'intelligenza di quest'opera. Ecco che si dà principio al nuovo *Mondo* [i.e. il *Mondo imaginato*], però disponetevi a una imaginazione che voi possiate esser capaci di tutto quel che leggerete. (77-78).
>
> (Now we proceed to print not, as was planned, the *Greatest World* but the *Imagined World*, ... in order to provide pleasurable reading for the reader, who is weary at times of contemplating the mysterious words extracted from the learned doctors .... We wish to relieve him somewhat with some curious inventions. If, spiritual readers, these pleasantries should bring you some annoyance, the very book which you have in your hands will be able to satisfy you as far as doctrine and the spirit are concerned, because, by finding the things written for your benefit, you may feed on them. And the others, who are not yet so perfected in matters pertaining to God, will make themselves ready with these means, because they will find certain hidden stairways by which to climb higher. Like you, they will find themselves, by chance, enjoying the advantage of understanding this work. Here then begins the new *World* [i.e. the *Imagined World*]; so prepare your imagination so that you will be able to grasp everything you read.)

This composite mode of writing also allows for a different way of reading. As a result, the complex architecture of *Mondi* proves to be faithful to a regime of sagacious and at times ironic nonbelligerancy between 'certainty' and the imagination, between the doctrine of the Church Fathers and this new, daring pilgrimage towards knowledge of heaven. This is the logic of the hypertext; that is, of a work capable of ensuring, beside the 'spiritual' reader, the presence of a different reader, on another wavelength, one more attentive to its curious inventions. Only in this way can the 'alchemy' of such an anomalous text be guaranteed or rather protected

from censorship. It is presented, moreover, from the very beginning by Elevato himself as a great mass of writings, some true, some doubtful, and some resolved ("scritti, parte veri, parte dubbiosi e parte risoluti") (6).

The addition of meaning, ensured by the hypertext,[5] is precisely the goal sought by the adventuresome Pellegrini through dream. By means of both practice and narration the playful rhetoric of the harangue, or solemn discourse, distorts the tradition of persuasive oration in a burlesque key. It does so in order to narrate in a fuller imaginative space a *topos* much loved by Doni, i.e. the allegorical figure of the book as the grand representation of a voyage in the great sea of languages.[6]

But if the voyage of the Pellegrini toward the Greatest World was to be, as called for by the ascetic tradition, an upward journey that follows a symbolically linear trajectory, then the author's unforeseen insertion of poetic fictions, abstract imaginings, impertinent and useless things ("finzioni poetiche, immaginazioni astratte, cose impertinenti e disutili") (189), in *Mondo misto* and the other unconventional *Mondi* (*Mondo imaginato, Mondo risibile, Mondo savio*), introduces a meaningful novelty into the very logic of the ascesis, one that corresponds to a more general departure from the triadic scheme of the traditional cosmological system of small, great and greatest worlds of man, world, and god (*Mondo piccolo, grande* e m*assimo*). It actually aims, in the very spirit of a singular hypertextual voyage, to create a space for writing that is free and arbitrary. The organic unity of the world, regulated by the *logos* — the rational order of the universe — opens the way to a fantastic multiplicity, to an invisible cosmography. In this way, as Heraclitus had already seen in the relationship between wakefulness and sleep, the norm of daily order is replaced by what lies outside of it — a plurality that is wholly individual and the disorder of dream.[7]

In *Mondo piccolo* (*Small World*) the Pellegrini engage in a grotesque dispute over the best means by which to climb to heaven. It involves a diatribe launched in collaboration with another Academy present on the stage, that of the Vignaiuoli or Vine Dressers of Rome. It ends in an inconclusive manner, and not without a burlesque reminder of other, ancient forms of voyages to salvation (for example, the naval voyage in Lucian's *True History* and the earthly voyage in Dante). This blasphemous taste for controversy in connection with the theme of the mode of ascesis proposes a subtle distinction that involves the very nature of the visionary design:

> "Perché non cercavi voi — disse il Divoto, Academico Peregrino — più tosto facendo orazione trovar la strada per mezzo dell'*oracolo*?" "Cotesto, — rispose l'Academico Vignaiuolo, — s'aspetta a voi altri che siate nel

peregrinaggio della santità; noi eravamo nelle facezie e nelle chimere a gola, come s'è veduto nei *Fichi*, nei *Nasi* e altre arguzie vivacissime, e non ne le divozioni. Dovete, adunque, voi far orazione, perché potresti aver qualche *visione*, la qual v'insegnerebbe come potreste andare ne' cieli, o per mezzo del *sonno*, sotto figura, comprendere quanto facile o difficile fia la cosa che ricercate". "Queste tre sorte di sogni, — disse il Divoto, — son tutte delle cose avenire, dei quali noi ci chiamiamo veramente indegni; noi ne abbiamo nell'insogno, il quale è ordinario degli uomini, avuto molte, le quali credo che non sien vere, perché sono state causate da varii accidenti, misti per le complessioni, perché il sanguigno sogna cose allegre, il malinconico paurose, il collerico infocate e il flemmatico acquose. Non voglio or dire che la fantasma [mi] abbia qualche volta stretto il cuore sul principio del dormire, innanzi che io abbi appiccato il sonno. Ma non più di questo, perché non son mezzi atti a salire sì alto." (*Mondi*, 23-24)

("Why don't you search for the Way?"— said Divoto [Devoted], a member of the Academy of Pilgrims— "by praying instead, by means of the *oracle*." "This"—replied the member of the Academy of Vine Dressers —"is expected of you who are on a holy pilgrimage. We were on a pilgrimage of jests and wild fancies of gluttony, as was seen in *Fichi [Figs]*, *Nasi [Noses]* and other very lively witticisms, and not a pilgrimage of devotion. You, then, should pray, that you may have some *vision*, which will teach you how to get to heaven; or allegorically, through the medium of dream [*sonno*], you could learn how easy or how difficult is the thing which you are seeking." "These three types of dreams [oracle, vision, dream]," said Divoto, "are all about future things, of which we call ourselves truly unworthy. In the *insogno*, which is the ordinary dream of humans, we have had many of these, which I believe are not true, because they have been caused by various accidents, mixed according to one's type of constitution: the sanguine man dreams happy things; the melancholic man frightening things; the choleric man fiery things; and the phlegmatic man watery things. I do not wish to say now that fancy has on some occasion wrung my heart at the beginning of sleep, before I had begun to doze. But no more of this, because they are not suitable means for such a high ascent.")

Out of respect for Saint Augustine (*Mondi*, 5) and also because of the profane nature of both of the Vignaiuoli and the Pellegrini, the way of the the *oraculum*, as well as the way of the classical *visio* and the *somnium* (the speculative and prophetic dream of the wise, the *oneiros*) are rejected. They do not pertain to these pilgrims who are without a fixed sanctuary, as Artemidorus, an authority on the theory of dreams well known to the members of Doni's circle, would have it. There remains only one form of oneiric creativity that is fully human insofar as it is tied to the various acci-

dents of the human physical constitution, namely the *insogno* or *enhyp-nion*.[8]

Thus the risk of heresy is immediately neutralized, but on a level that is merely doctrinal. Another and more complex dimension is the concreteness of Doni's writing, in which the expectation of knowledge and the prospect of artistic synthesis — that is, a *ratio*, even if fantastic in nature, to be put into practice through the representation of dreams — are not by any means discarded. They are still present.

Furthermore, there is an important reference to the same "wise" dream of the pilgrimage in Artemidorus himself, according to whom this is to be interpreted in light of the expectation lying at the depths of consciousness: "non vedrà egli [l'uomo 'savio' che s'interpreta] carri o *navi*, ma letti legati, o massaritia avolta, overo apparecchio di pellegrinaggio, o che *gli parrà di volare*, o pure vedrà terremoto" (the wise man who analyses himself will not see chariots or *ships*, but beds tied together, or wrapped-up household goods, or else pilgrims' equipment, or *he will think he is flying*, or perhaps he will see an earthquake" [emphasis added].)[9] This reference, which appears startling for its forward-looking dimension, and which operates here as the precocious intuition of the mechanisms of symbolic exchange and equivalence, appears surprising even to a modern reader-analyst like Musatti.[10]

It is a curious fact that the Pellegrini, in their dispute with the Vignaiuoli, had first considered and then evidently rejected the idea of Lucian's sea voyage. Instead the idea of flight was more acceptable. It was more in keeping with the re-invention of scenery that was playfully mystical and aerial, and designed to receive in the intermediate spaces between the *Mondi* (the *Mondo immaginato*, m*isto*, r*isibile* and s*avio*) (Imagined, mixed, laughable and wise Worlds) the old archetypes of the divine *lusus*, namely Jove and Momus. Even in the scenes of flight and Utopia (*Mondo savio*), to cite Musatti directly, oneiric activity plays with words ("l'attività onirica gioca con le parole").[11] Already at an early date Artemidorus had, it seemed, implicitly diagnosed such a fact in the case of the dream of Alexander the Great, reconstructed as an object of analysis in a chapter of his treatise.[12] Oneiric activity, that is, allows for a ludic use of discourse and an approach to *logos* intended to simplify and unveil it.

The mediator-shaman himself is authorized to solve on a playful level (in reality with desperate irony and disenchantment) the enigma of visions, of the world seen from outside. This is because in *lusus* there is hidden an evidently inescapable truth content, even if at times it is inexpressible insofar as it is outside reason and, so to speak, officially extraneous to the *logos*.

The entire project of *Mondi* takes shape in this zone of an apparently peaceful, but in reality provocative, contiguousness of dream and wakefulness, folly and reason, abstract things and *logos*.

In *Mondo savio*, together with the utopia of *Mondo nuovo*, dream and play call into question — in the wake of Filarete, More, Guevara and the common Platonic archetype[13] — an ethical and political problem which in reality is little cause for laughter.

In the imagination of the Pellegrini dream hardly ever evokes the idea of solitude. It always takes the form of a socializing story that turns quickly into an emblem, and becomes the subject matter of collective narration. At times, in fact, its oneiric derivation is recognized and certified *a posteriori*, after having been already received as a story. This occurs in the first dialogue of *Mondo imaginato* between the characters Leggiadro (Graceful) and Pellegrino (Pilgrim). Leggiadro utters the following: "il Sonnacchioso e lo Smarrito ... una notte ci apparvero in sogno e ci dissero il ragionamento che avete inteso" (90). (Sleepy and Bewildered ... appeared to us one night in a dream and told us the story you just heard.)

But the most active and significant concentration of Doni's antinomies occurs in *Mondo savio*, which not by accident has the task of completing, in the form of a climax, the itinerary of the intermediate worlds; it is the epilogue of a discourse which, with the dialogue between Pazzo (Madman) and Savio (Wise man), has reached the highest level of concentration and, so to speak, of symbolic inflation. When it comes time to reach some provisional conclusion about this rapid *excursus*, then the truly fundamental significance which this inflationary result assumes for the entire development of the discussion on meaning and currency should become clear.

In the universe of dream, there is no *logos* that provides reassurance about the unity of the world, and the word can do nothing more than predicate an eternal plurality and disorder of meaning. It is not surprising, then, that the mediator-shaman Savio himself remains trapped in the insurmountable dilemma of the antinomic rapport between Wisdom and Folly. He is uncertain as to *how* to name the reality of utopia, that is the new world. On the threshold of recounting a new vision, he demonstrates his vexation to the readers through another of the numerous harangues:

> Voi avreste forse piacere di sapere quello ch'io aveva pensato in tanti rivoltamenti ... Prima inalberai con il nome, se io doveva chiamarmi il Savio o il Pazzo: s'io mi battezzava per matto, tutto quello che io avessi scritto le Signorie Vostre l'avrebbono avuto per materia. O il dirti savio non monda nespole: a questo si risponde che ancora i matti spacciati non si tengano pazzi, ma savi. Se adunque voi mi chiamaste per il nome mio,

non sarebbe gran fatto, perciò che savio letteralmente vuol dire in lingua italiana pazzo pubblico. La seconda cosa che io strologai nel mio cerebro fu del titolo di questo nuovo *Mondo*, e quando l'ebbi aburattato forse sei o sette ore, colpì sul nome del *Mondo de' Savi*, al qual nome se gli pone la briglia sul collo, che possa correre alla scapestrata fra i savi e pazzi, e che chiamate lui e me pazzo e savio, savio e pazzo [come] voi volete. Se ben voi lo chiamaste ermafrodito, non ve ne darei una castagna. (*Mondi*, 158).

(You would perhaps like to know what I had thought during many ruminations ... First I took issue with my name, whether I should call myself Savio [Wise] or Pazzo [Mad]: if I were to christen myself as mad, everything that I had written Your Highnesses would have served as proof. Or to tell you I am wise won't make any difference; the response to this is that the insane do not consider themselves mad, but wise. If, then, you were to call me by my own name, it would not be of any significance, because "wise" in Italian literally means a "public madman." The second thing that racked my brain was the title of this new *Mondo*, and when I had sifted names for six or seven hours, I came upon *Mondo de' savi* [*World of the Wise*]. If you were to put a bridle around the neck of this name, it could run recklessly among the wise and the mad, so that you may call it and me mad and wise, wise and mad, as you wish. If you were indeed to call it hermaphrodite, I wouldn't care.)

The Erasmian antinomy that vexes Savio for a while has its own paradoxical precision ("six or seven hours"), a duration that is grotesquely incompatible with the pace and rhythm of a type of writing that is instinctive and rapid and is in fact produced amid the noises of the printing press ("fra i romori della stampa"), as a letter of Marcolini reminds us (*Mondi*, 255). It is, nonetheless, a fixed time, an ironic fiction, one that jokingly suggests the futility of the dilemma.

The *incipit* of Savio's account of his vision in the utopian *Mondo nuovo* is a rapid attack, a quick change of scene that is decidedly theatrical:

Savio: Ben mi pareva sogno, ben diceva io: la non è cosa che possi essere; ma pure ella aveva tanto del proprio, del vivo e del buono che la mi tratteneva con grandissimo diletto.

Pazzo: Tal volta vengano veri i sogni, ma se tu mi vuoi fare un piacer grandissimo, da che tu mi hai detto tanto inanzi, cioè che tu non vedesti mai la più bella cosa, comincia da capo e disegnati il luogo e a cosa per cosa dimmi il tutto particolarmente. Mi par gran novità veramente che si ritrovi un mondo che ciascuno godi tutto quello che si gode in questo nostro, e che non abbino gli uomini se non un pensiero, e tutte le passioni umane sien levate via. Comincia adunque insino dal principio del sogno. (162)

(Savio: Clearly it appeared to me to be a dream, and indeed I said: that cannot be true; yet it had so much life and goodness, that it captivated me with great delight.

Pazzo: Sometimes dreams come true, but, from what you had said before — that is, that you had never seen such a beautiful thing — , you can, if you wish, do me a great favour: begin from the top, describe the place and tell me everything in detail. It truly seems to me a great novelty that there exists a world in which everyone enjoys all that we enjoy here in our own world, and that men have a single thought, and all human passions are taken away. Start, then, right from the beginning of the dream.)

A single stage direction was enough for Doni, at the opening of the dialogue between Savio and Pazzo, to inform the reader that the object of this umpteenth reverie—demonstrated by Jove, its inventor, dressed as a Pilgrim along with Momus—was in this instance undoubtedly a vision, despite all doctrinal distinctions. It is above all a vision that produces delight; it is unpredictably capable again of evoking a possibility ("Tal volta vengano veri i sogni," sometimes dreams come true), a logic of a sense of perspective, a prophetic force, which here renounces any diminution of the ordinary, common, and bestial *insogno*. "Voi parlavi dei sogni per il sogno fatto, ma chi dubita — conferma Giove, che si è intanto rivelato al Savio e al Pazzo — che, quando noi Dei ci intrinsichiamo con le cose vostre, tutto non succeda? A confermazione del sogno vostro e della città da noi mostratavi, ve ne racconterò alcuni" (178). (You were speaking of dreams in the sense of dreams that have come true, but who doubts—confirms Jove, who had in the meantime revealed himself to Savio and Pazzo—that, when we gods intervene in your affairs, everything does indeed happen? As confirmation of your dream and the city that we have shown you, I'll tell you about some.) This is the introduction to a review of 'historic' visions, one of many in *Mondi*, which tends to represent a kind of series of imaginative events that are linked together: the anthropological universe of dream as routine and as the inflation of meaning.

After the detailed digression on the marvelous architecture of the great city built in the shape of a perfect circle, and on its natural and communistic customs, one can understand why Savio counters Pazzo's desire for philological precision with subtle perplexity. Pazzo would love to see books and sources quoted for that utopian depiction.[14] This subtlety at first refutes and then accepts, diminishes, and, at the same time, sums up—even if elliptically—the reference to authorities and sources:

Savio: Che rilieva cotesto? Chi è dotto, che abbi letto la *Republica* di Platone, la legge de' Lacedemoni, dei Ligurghi, de' Romani e insino de'

Cristiani, sa dove il diavol tien la coda, ma chi non è esperto *in libris*, non accade fargli più pataffi di novelle; basta che questo è sogno, questa è saviezza, questa è opinione degli uomini, questa è pazzia. (167-168)

(Savio: What does this matter? He who is learned, and has read Plato's *Republic*, the laws of the Lacedemonians, of the followers of Lycurgus, of the Romans, and even of the Christians, knows where the devil keeps his tail; but he who is not an expert of books, has no need of official introductions. It suffices for him to know that this is a dream, this is wisdom, this is the opinion of men, this is folly.)

The very logic of dreams — this time of dreams in general — belongs to a dimension that is wholly human, even when, in the light of the same phenomenon in ancient civilizations, it is revealed to be a pure anthropological fact, in its fundamentally demoniac quality.[15] Beyond the classical fable of the two doors and of the distinction between true and false visions—with which Doni naturally is familiar, as certain pages of *Zucca* (*Squash*) demonstrate[16]—the logic of human dreams as such, obscuring the boundaries between reason and folly, is not subject to the judgment of truth or moral verdict; rather it is associated with movement and change, like the transformation undergone by the chameleon, as it slips into a space in memory that is not governed by the *logos*. In that crowded region of the memory, which is the memory of civilization, of the construction or machine of the world, the word, following in the footsteps of Giulio Camillo, retains both the free flux of narration as well as oneiric condensation, and it frees itself from the risks of becoming a mere catalogue of solemn tales.

To dream in *Inferni*, instead, is to experience the labyrinth, but without a guide. This is what Disperato (the Desperate One) complains about to Pluto from the very beginning. It is a journey without structure, one that instead grows and expands upon itself through a chaotic accretion of materials that flow according to a new kind of allegory into the general aggregate of the book. The emphasis on the power of new scenarios, and of new subjects, aims to exalt this disquieting visionary experience as an unavoidable occasion for knowledge, and for the foreshadowing of death ("premeditazione della morte"), and revelation:

Adunque, per via di sonno vi sono ito in sogno: per non dir le bugie come molti altri, perché non ho trovato chi mi conduca là giù, in quei bui, più facilmente che il sonno (e il morire, che io doveva dire in prima), e il sonno so che egli è una premeditazione della morte. (215)

(Thus, through sleep, I have gone there in dream; and, not to tell lies, as many others have done, I found no one to take me down there into that

darkness more readily than sleep ,or should I say death, and I know that sleep is a foreshadowing of death.)

But in the foreground there is constantly present the problem of *relevance*, of the very qualifications of the guides. It is a dilemma that concerns the validity of the authorities:

> Leggendo adunque lo stupendo poeta, il nostro Dante, mi son creduto un tempo di trovar quella selva e caminar dietro alle sue pedate .... Ma indarno ho caminato e in vano ho fatto i miei viaggi per questi boschi della vita, onde ho per fermo che la selva che egli trovò sia stata tagliata e spiantata, che mai più alcuno la saprà trovare.
>
> La Sibilla di Vergilio né per pelaghi, per grotte, caverne o laghi, né per terribil montagne ho trovato alcuno che me ne dia notizia.
>
> Menippo ebbe al suo tempo quella ventura d'uno incantatore, d'un negromante che lo volle servire; adesso va', trovagli tu, chi sa far fare i diavoli a suo modo non si cura che gli altri abbino questo contento.
>
> Orfeo aveva quella virtù di saper sonare la ribeca e diceva provisi stupendi. A quest'impresa non accade che io mi ci metta, perché non avrei alcuno onore. Egli poi *sapeva la via*, che è il nerbo di questa mia stravagante voglia [emphasis added]. (214-215)

> (Reading then this magnificent poet, our own Dante, I believed once that I could find that wood and walk in his footsteps .... But in vain I walked and in vain I made my voyages through these forests of life, and I am now convinced that the forest that he found has been cut and cleared, and that no one will ever be able to find it again.
>
> I have found no one, either on the high seas, in caves, in caverns or lakes, or in the terrifying mountains, who can give me news of Virgil's Sibyl.
>
> In his day Menippus had that adventure with a magician, a necromancer who wanted to serve him. Now you go find him; he who knows how to make devils do what he wants does not care that others have this satisfaction.
>
> Orpheus had the virtue of knowing how to play the rebec, and he made marvellous compositions. There is no need for me to get involved in this undertaking, because I would not get any honour from it. Moreover, he *knew the way*, which is the core of this extravagant desire of mine. [emphasis added])

Amid the spectres of ancient ascetics, poet magicians, and prophetic Sibyls, the dawn of the modern age in reality does nothing else here but testify to the disquieting (and perhaps ambiguous) fact of *not* "knowing the way." It is a denial which, beneath this extravagant desire for knowledge ("questa stravagante voglia di sapere"), is combined, without conflict, with

a sense of being saturated with civilization and with literature, and also of being at the end. In the opening pages of *Mondo grande*, Doni had made the following assertion:

> Pare che questa sia l'ultima età e che poco ci debbi restare di tempo a risolvere questa mole, essendo passato tutti i regni e adempiuto le profezie. Ancora non la sa nissuno se non il grande Iddio, questo a punto, ma per quanto e' si può conietturando comprendere, noi siamo appresso a questo fine, ogni virtù è al colmo e ogni vizio all'estremo.[17] (*Mondi*, 59)

> (It seems that this is the last age and that little time is left for us to resolve this mass, since all kingdoms have passed away and all prophecies have been fulfilled. No one can know this yet except God most high; but, as far as one can comprehend through conjecture, we are close to the end, for every virtue has reached its height and every vice its extreme.)

It is not fortuitous that Doni, at the very beginning of *Inferni*, should take up once again the discussion of the nature of dreams and their changeable truth content (which again raises the problem of "knowing the way"), a subject which he approaches on the basis of Saint Augustine's distinction between sensorial vision, spiritual vision, and intellectual vision. Following Saint Augustine and for the reasons already cited even by Artemidorus, Doni re-affirms that divine dreams are always true ("il divino sogno è sempre vero") and that human dreams contain in themselves no astonishing mystery ("l'umano non ha alcun misterio stupendo in sé") (217). Yet, however much these infernal dreams may be very lowly things ("bassissime cose"), and considering that, as Doni claims, some dreams, in his opinion, seem to him to have a divine origin, but, like the good seed that is overshadowed by thorns, they are not seen clearly ("Alcuni altri sogni, al mio giudicio, mi par ch'abbino principio dal divino, ma, offuscati come il buon seme dalle spine, non vengano a luce chiara") (218), the perspective offered by demoniac visions appears to be much more open than the Augustinian premise would authorize us to believe. This openness, in fact, inspires the liminal notice proffered by Disperato: "Le visioni che io ho vedute in sogno, io ve le narrerò tutte scrivendole a una a una, e lascierò nel vostro giudicio il giudicare di che specie le sieno. Utili credo ben io che le saranno ..." (218). (The visions that I have seen while dreaming I shall narrate them all to you, writing them down one by one, and I shall leave it up to your judgment to decide to which categories they belong. I truly believe that they will be useful ....)

And yet, still on the threshold of this great medley of dreams— umpteenth prelude to the actual presentation of the visions—a page appears loaded with names, and only names, in the manner of Rabelais: a

simple and provocative list of travellers in dream. Disperato, Perduto, Smarrito, Pazzo, Ardito, Savio, Ostinato (Desperate, Lost, Bewildered, Mad, Bold, Wise, Obstinate) are the names of those in the labyrinth), of infernal zones joined together to form their route,[18] and of shadows that are the guides of the Academicians for visiting the infernos ("ombre che sono *guida* agli Academici a veder gl'Inferni"): Virgil, Dante, Matteo Palmieri, Menippus, the fairy of Fiesole, Orpheus, the Sibyl of Norcia.[19]

This unforeseen reappearance of the guides and the burlesque sequence of portions of their voyage are indications of a new challenge to meaning. The first thing that strikes us is the serialization of the guides.

But in the miraculously constructed theatre ("teatro mirabilmente fabbricato") (220) of *Inferni*, the decodification of the visionary allegories is resolved with a direct appeal to the Fathers of the Church. In the declaration of the first vision for example, Agustine, Chrysostom, Bernard, Hugo, and Gregory are invoked. With the guides, the game is a different one, as is seen in the exchange between Momus, Disperato, and Dante. The hierarchies disappear, and it is the guide who desires to know: "Come avete trovati tanti Inferni?" (How did you find so many infernos?), Dante asks the pair. "Io per me non arei giudicato mai che si potesse passar più inanzi. I nostri antichi non ne penetraron già sì profondamente" (I personally would never have thought that one could go farther. Our ancients did not penetrate so deeply). Momus, who has the task of responding, signals a profound change of horizon: "Né ancora i nostri moderni naviganti averebbon trovato tanti novi paesi, se si fossero stati al detto e al fatto degli antichi" (224) (nor yet would our modern navigators have found so many new countries if they had adhered to the teachings and deeds of the ancients). And Disperato has the task of explaining the novelty of the strange vision:

> Voi [Dante] salisti, se ben mi ricorda, per tornare all'emispero nostro, su per Lucifero e v'apicaste al collo di Virgilio; io, che v'era dietro, entrai, per la paura, per il bellico di Lucifero nel suo corpo, il quale era tanto grande di cerchio quanto è la larghezza del centro. (224)

> (You [Dante], if I remember well, in order to return to our hemisphere, climbed over Lucifer, and you hung onto Virgil's neck; I, who was behind you, entered out of fear through Lucifer's umbilicus and into his body, which was as big around as the centre.)

The promise of a new kind of allegorical dream, through the imaginative variation of the 'endoscopic' contact with Lucifer (which again recalls Rabelais), translates into a surreal distorting of the archetype (Dante,

Inferno, 34.70ff). If in the "new manner," as Dubbioso reveals, Lucifer signifies the world ("Lucifero ... significa il mondo") (227), then the voyage takes place within the body of the world or the great "theatre," in search of the eternal lament and of human suffering.

But his tale is the partial result of a word pronounced on the threshold. It retells the experiences of a character who has reached the vision by another road ("per un'altra strada"), one who is incapable of judging and unable to mete out punishments.[20] He is one who—considering the gloomy times—cannot tell everything through and through, that is, "menar la falce tonda tonda" (swing the scythe around 360 degrees) as in Dante's inexorable representation, without risking "una mala stretta" (Ibid.). This is the other indication — the most remarkable perhaps in the autumnal condition of sixteenth-century mannerism[21]—of a hidden truth, one that the allegory of the body of Lucifer portrays as a great implosion, as the effect of the end of a cycle.

In conclusion, what matters is that Savio-Doni's repeated metaliterary approach, that is his distanced, ironic, and burlesque mode of treating the *topos* of vision, is intimately connected to the fundamental disenchantment (and demonic cynicism) that circulates in the author's oneiric universe. The more advanced phase of the voyage, in fact, is dominated, in an ever growing fashion, by a game of unveiling, one which is designed grotesquely to lay bare the mechanisms and structure of vision, beginning with Menippus and the incredible, futile, invention of wings and of flight:

> Savio: Lo esser tanto curioso come sei stato tu non mi va per fantasia. Che accadeva far quei trovati d'ale e dir di essere stato in Cielo, se non era vero? Poi finger d'andare all'Inferno per sì poca cosa non era credibile né poco né assai. (288)

> (Savio: Being so full of curiosity as you were does not suit my fancy. What need was there to invent those wings and to say that you went up to Heaven, if it wasn't true? Then, to pretend to have gone to the Inferno on such a minor pretext was not at all believable.)

To name the instruments and techniques, to burst as a desecrator into the laboratory of the great builders of dreams and voyages, means to demythologize and reify the charisma and the very act itself of fantastic creation, that is of the fiction, and to put them back into contact with the adult and disenchanted reality of the moderns.

Metaliterary irony is thus in Doni the result of a profane scepticism. At a certain point, this scepticism manifests itself in Savio as the unresolved contradiction between the two ambiguous faces of visionary experience. It is a contradiction between, on the one hand, the "mad" usage of words on

the infernal stage (a usage to be unveiled through the mechanisms of its fiction), and, on the other, the wise inexpressibility of true knowledge: a contradiction — as occurs in the following soliloquy by Savio — capable of putting the meaning and the very necessity itself of the voyage in doubt:

> Io voglio, poiché mi trovo solo in questo Inferno ... ricercarmi ed esaminarmi molto bene s'io mi posso chiamar savio, e, ritrovandomi tale, s'io debbo come savio andare più inanzi per questo Inferno. Ultimamente, quando mi sarò risoluto d'ogni cosa bene, vedere se sia ben fatto scriver qualcosa di questo Inferno che sia utile. Prima, io so certo che colui non può pervenire alla vera sapienza che si lascia ingannare dal suo sciocco sapere, so che la prima sapienza dell'uomo ha da essere la vita lodata appresso Iddio. A che siamo, o Savio? andiamo più innanzi. La chiara sapienza non è quella che porta la fama attorno in parole, ma quella che si conosce in fatti. (290)

> (Since I find myself alone in this Inferno, I want to ... investigate and examine myself thoroughly to see if I can call myself wise, and, finding myself to be such, whether I must as a wise man proceed in this Inferno. Ultimately, when I have resolved everything, I must decide whether it would be a good thing to write something useful about this Inferno. First, I know for certain that he who allows himself to be deceived by his own foolish knowledge cannot arrive at true wisdom. I know that man's primary wisdom must be the life that is praised by God. Where are we, oh Savio? Let's go on further. True wisdom is not that which carries fame around in words, but that which is recognized in facts.)

Thus, from the point of view of an anomalous wisdom (that of Savio), the discussions on the threshold of hell testify to the meaninglessness of words, to their saturation through an absence of wonder in the face of the peak of civilization, at which point everything has already occurred.

> Egli è vero ch'io ho del sapiente in un certo che, che non si può da me esprimere, come sarebbe a dire che io non mi maraviglio di cose che accaggia, perché sempre ho veduto inanzi ciò che si può vedere e non m'è nuova materia alcuna che succeda al mondo. (Ibid.)

> (It is true that I have a certain something of the wise, something that I cannot express, which is to say that I do not wonder at anything that may occur, because I have always seen beforehand whatever is to be seen, and for me nothing new ever happens in the world.)

And yet dream, like life, does not live except in the word, that is, in writing. Of this human obstinancy, Savio warns, "Non vi stupite altrimenti, perché le cagioni che fanno scrivere alle persone sono assai. Prima c'è il capriccio, il furore, l'abondanza della parole e la materia. Poi c'è l'amore,

l'odio e la necessità" (299). (Do not be at all amazed, because the reasons that make people write are many. First there is whim, furour, the abundance of words and subject matter. Then there is love, hatred, necessity.) And in the end, naturally, there is madness, smoke, and the conceit of knowing ("la pazzia, il fummo e l'opinione di sapere") (299).

The umpteenth and final image of Doni's chameleon is precisely that of Ostinato (Obstinate). Occurring in the epilogue to the voyage in hell, it is charged with an extreme, disenchanted warning to the readers:

> Perché credete voi ch'io mi chiami l'Ostinato? Non per altro, se non per aver veduto che l'ostinarsi è un risolversi a fare una cosa in ogni modo, ma, per dispor l'animo suo a metterla a effetto, non ho trovato il miglior mezo che aver tutte le cose del mondo per favola, tenerle per una dipintura, creder che le sieno fumo, e stare sempre d'un'opinione che questo vivere sia una girandola o uno svolazzare intorno a un lume; e sopra questo viluppo di vivere in travaglio io voglio scorrere alquanto. (359)

> Why do you believe that my name is Obstinate? For no reason other than for having understood that obstinacy is a resolve to do something at all costs; but I have not found a better means of disposing one's soul to do this than to deem all the things of the world to be a fable, to consider them a painting, to believe that they are smoke, and to be always of the opinion that this life is a spinning toy or a fluttering around a light. And over this tangle of life in distress I wish to glide for a while.

Thanks to the multiform and illusionistic prodigy of the hypertextual voyage, the whimsical chameleon was able to "glide" on the great sea of life (life as seen through books) and through the Babel of languages, with the proviso that the control over the world seen "from outside", that is, dreams in the infinite mass of their fable-like simulacra (or in their disenchanted and playful sequences), should become, more than an exception, the total form of reality itself — perhaps the only one capable of representing it.

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Translated from Italian by Mario D'Alessandro

NOTES

[1] Girardi, "Dialogare 'fuori del nostro intendere'," 99-113.

[2] The last indication of this good fortune, and, presumably, an incentive for a new series of studies, is the recent edition of Doni's *I Mondi e gli Inferni*, with an introduction by Marziano Guglielminetti and a rich apparatus of sources, bio-bibliographical notes and commentary by Patrizia Pellizzari. I will cite from this edition from here on, calling it *Mondi* or indicating in parentheses only the page

numbers. To Pellizarri's bibliography one needs to add, for the editions and for the criticism on Doni before 1960, the book by Cecilia Ricotini Marsili Libelli.

[3]The importance of the idea of movement is to be found first in Doni's doctrinal background even before it is found in his narrative. It is detected, for example, in a bizarre discussion in *Marmi* on madness and on the revision of the theory of the immobility of the earth: "Carafulla: L'opinion mia è, Ghetto, che pazzo voglia dire zoppo del cervello e cervello a pezzi. Ghetto: Se tu non hai il cervello storpiato tu e partito in mille parte, non vaglia. Oh tu ti fai strolago! Or vedrò se tu ne sai un buon dato. Come gira il sole? Carafulla: Il sole non gira, noi giriamo; la terra è quella che si volge: non sai tu che il cielo si chiama fermamento?" (Doni, *I marmi*, 1.16). (Carafulla: My opinion, Ghetto, is that mad means lame in the brain and having the brain in pieces. Ghetto: If you don't have a crippled brain, one divided into a thousand pieces, it doesn't count. Oh you want to be an astrologer! Now I'll see whether you know a fact or two. How does the sun move? Carafulla: The sun doesn't move, we move; it is the earth that turns, don't you know that the sky is called firmament?)

[4]"Sopra queste desiderate e dolci fantasie di saper quello che sta in noi, sotto e sopra ... molti uomini si sono posti, imaginandosi con l'intelletto e lambiccandosi il cervello come ora fanno i nostri Academici, a scriver non solamente di questo, ma di diversi mondi (non già come posero Democrito e l'Epicuro)" (*Mondi*, 5). (Focussing on these sweet and desired fantasies to know that which is in us, above and below ... many men, imagining with the intellect and racking their brains as our Academicians now do, set out to write not only about this world, but about different worlds [not however as Democritus and Epicurus had once postulated].)

[5]On the logic of literary hypertextuality, see Genette, 7-77, and for the "travestissement burlesque," 77-87.

[6]"Questo libro non è altro che una nave, la qual solca l'acque del mare delle lingue" (*Mondi*, 188) (This book is nothing but a ship, which ploughs the sea of languages.)

[7]Cf. Mathieu 19-20.

[8]"A dream that has no meaning and predicts nothing, one that is active only while one sleeps and that has arisen from an irrational desire, an extraordinary fear, or from a surfeit or lack of food is called an *enhypnion*. . . . You must bear in mind, moreover, that men who live an upright, moral life do not have meaningless dreams (*enhypnia*) or any other irrational fantasies, but rather dreams that are by all means meaningful (*oneiroi*) and which generally fall into the theorematic category. For their minds are not muddled by fears or by expectations but, indeed, they control the desires of their bodies. In short, *enhypnia* and other irrational fantasies do not appear to a serious man. And so that you are never misled, the masses do not have the same dreams (*enhypnia*) as men who know how to interpret dreams. For whatever the masses desire or dread, they also see in precisely that form in their sleep. (Artemidorus 160-161).

[9]Artemidorus: "If he [i.e. the expert man] is about to take a trip, he will not see carriages, ships, knapsacks, baggage and luggage that has been gathered together, or preparations for a trip. Instead he will dream that he is flying or he will see an earthquake, a war, a thunderbolt or anything else that symbolizes a dream" (185).

[10]Musatti, "Introduzione," in Artemidoro di Daldi, *Dell'interpretazione de' sogni*, 16-17.

[11]Ibid., 19.

[12]"And it seems to me that Aristander also gave a most felicitous interpretation to Alexander of Macedonia when he had blockaded Tyre and was besieging it. Alexander was feeling uneasy and disturbed because of the great loss of time and dreamt that he saw a satyr dancing on his shield. Alexander was in Tyre at the time, in attendance on the king while he was waging war agains the Tyrians. By dividing the word *Satyros* into *sa* and *Tyros* (Tyre is yours), he encouraged the king to wage the war more zealously with the result that he took the city" (4.24.196).

[13]For a review of the principal sources and secondary treatments related to the general question of the utopian city that ermerges from *Mondi*, see Del Fante 1980.

[14]"Pazzo: S'io non avessi paura di fastidire te e me a un tratto, io allegherei sempre a ogni cosa che tu di': il tal che dette la tal legge v'era cotesto medesimo, il quale che dette quell'altra, ancor lui ordinò così" (*Mondi*, 167). (Pazzo: "If I weren't afraid of annoying both you and me at the same time, I would always cite for everything you say: the person who established that law was so and so, the one who made the other, was also he.")

[15]"Pazzo: Cose tutte da demoni e da pazzi, proprio da fare un mondo di pazzi. Savio: Già che non erano altri che demoni quei che facevano simil prove; i nostri antichi gli chiamaron Iddii, altri Demoni e uomini, poi un altro savio ci aggiunse gli Eroi, credendo che quegli uomini i quali furono al tempo di Saturno in quell'età dell'oro, che dopo la morte, per ordine di messer Giove, fossero trasformati in demoni buoni terreni, i quali fussino a guardia degli uomini, e così se ne vadino circondati d'aere per tutto, ponendo cura a tutte le opere buone e cattive; e più dicano che danno delle ricchezze a noi altri" (177-178). (Pazzo: These are all things of demons and of madmen, things with which to construct a world of madmen. Savio: Those who did similar things were none other than demons; our ancients called them Gods, others demons and men; then another wiseman added Heroes, believing that the men who lived at the time of Saturn in that golden age were, after death by order of Jove, transformed into good earthly demons, who were the guardians of men, and thus they go about all surrounded by air, taking care of all good and bad works; and, what's more, they say they give riches to us.) For the allusion to Hesiod in this passage, mediated by the modern reading of Lupano in his *Torricella*, and for other borrowings of a Neoplatonic stamp by Doni, see Masi 1992.

[16]For these intertextual relationships and in general on the presence of dream in the writings of Doni, see Masi 1988, 30ff.

[17]On the hermetic and cabalistic assumptions which underlie this idea of the end of the cycle in the Manner of the high Renaissance, see Garin 47-48.

[18]In this infernal zone there is another instructive taxonomy, one which no longer traces an objective map, a culture of sin, but the evident individuality and the arbitrary dream of a life journey through guilt. Consider the following: "Inferno degli scolari e de' pedanti; Inferno de' mal maritati e degli amanti; Inferno de' ricchi avari e de' poveri liberali; Inferno delle puttane e de' ruffiani; Inferno de' dottori ignoranti, artisti e legisti; Inferno de' poeti e compositori; Inferno de' soldati e capitani poltroni etc." (219). (Inferno of students and of pedants; of the unhappily married and of lovers; of the greedy rich and of the generous poor; of whores and ruffians; of ignorant doctors, artists and lawmakers; of poets and composers; of lazy soldiers and captains, etc.)

[19]This "infernal" canon too has been carefully analysed by Doni critics from the point of view of its animistic and fantastic matrix. See Del Fante 1976, 171-210 and now the rich apparatus of bibliographical references offered in the commentary of Pellizzari. In reference to the *Fata fiesolana* (obvious sister of the *Ninfe fiesolane*), I limit myself to adding — in order to provide a more precise characterization of the complex anthropological and literary meaning contained within the Orphic-popular syncretism of Doni (apart from the already invaluable references given by Pellizzari 219n) — the probable presence of *De antro nympharum* of Porphiry (on whom see Pézard), in the Tuscan tradition which, from the *Ninfale fiesolano* of Boccaccio, extends to the carnival song of Giambullari (on whom, apart from a more profound 'hermetic' reflection on languages, linking him to Doni, see, for example, his *Canzona delle ninfe fiesolane*, now published in Bruscagli's edition of *Trionfi e canti carnascialeschi del Rinascimento*, 1.277); but it also extends, on the Neoplatonic side, to the "mysteriosophic" association of nymphs and demons in the *Conclusiones cabbalisticae* of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (see Semprini). But there is also a nymphean animism of a Delminian matrix (see Bernheimer 227).

[20]"Ancora — precisa Momo nell'Inferno del Pazzo — gli Academici si son mossi per lodar chi n'è degno e biasimare gli indegni, ma sono andati per un'altra strada, che il voler dar pene e tormenti come ha fatto Dante, unico intelleto, non istà bene, ché si sarebbe potuto gridar: al ladro! al ladro! Ma sono entrati, come vedete, per un'altra porta, e mettono, con questo dar fuori una parte per *Inferno*, il piè su la soglia dell'uscio" (266). ("Moreover," Momus points out in the Inferno of the Madman, "the Academicians moved to praise the worthy and to blame the unworthy, but they went by a different path, for the wish to hand out punishments and torments as that remarkable intellect Dante had done, is not good, because one could have yelled out: stop thief! stop thief! But they entered, as you see, by another door, and they put their foot on the threshold of the doorway.")

[21]This and other allusions to the autumnal image of literary civilization are from Ossola.

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MARIO D'ALESSANDRO

TYPE, ANTITYPE, FIGURE AND *EXEMPLUM*:
DREAM AND VISION IN TASSO'S EPIC POETRY

Although commentators of Tasso have pointed out that Goffredo's dream
in Canto 14 of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* is closely modeled after the
Dream of Scipio from Macrobius's *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*,
these same critics have ignored the fact that Argillano's dream in Canto 8
follows Macrobius's description of the nightmare and incubus in Book 1 of
his *Commentary*.[1] Indeed, as I intend to show, there is much to suggest that
Tasso had Macrobius's classification of dreams very much in mind when he
came to design Argillano's dream and the events surrounding it.
    I begin by summarizing Macrobius's five main categories of dreams:

> All dreams may be classified under five main types: there is the enigmat-
> ic dream, in Greek *oneiros*, in Latin *somnium*; second, there is the
> prophetic vision, in Greek *horama*, in Latin *visio*; third, there is the orac-
> ular dream, in Greek *chrematismos*, in Latin *oraculum*; fourth, there is the
> nightmare, in Greek *enypnion*, in Latin *insomnium*; and last, the appari-
> tion, in Greek *phantasma*, which Cicero, when he has occasion to use the
> word, calls *visum*. (87-88).[2]

Of these five, only the first three have prophetic value; the last two, the
nightmare and the apparition, "are not worth interpreting since they have
no significance" (88). The causes of these last two kinds of dreams, more-
over, are wholly material, and grounded fully in the concerns of this world.
    The nightmare, Macrobius writes, is caused by one of three things:
physical distress, mental distress, or anxiety about the future. Examples of
physical distress have to do with the extremes of over-indulgence or near
total deprivation. These kinds of dreams are best illustrated either by the
person "who has overindulged in eating or drinking and dreams that he is
either choking with food or unburdening himself," or by the person who
"has been suffering from hunger or thirst and dreams that he is craving and
searching for food or drink or has found it" (88). Macrobius points out the
"lover who dreams of possessing his sweetheart or of losing her" (88) as an
example of a dreamer subject to mental distress. A second and more sig-

nificant example of a dreamer subject to mental distress is that of the "man who fears the plots or might of an enemy and is confronted with him in his dream or seems to be fleeing him" (88). Equally important for our purposes is the nightmare of the man who, because of anxiety about the future, "dream[s] that he is gaining a prominent position or office as he hoped or that he is being deprived of it as he feared" (88-89). Importantly, Macrobius argues that dreams stemming from such causes, causes "that [irritate] a man during the day and consequently [disturb] him when he falls asleep," vanish into thin air as soon as the person awakes (89). They are thus false dreams insofar as they have no importance or meaning once they are gone.

The last type of dream categorized by Macrobius is the *phantasma* or *visum*, the apparition. This type of dream, he writes, "comes upon one in the moment between wakefulness and slumber, in the so called 'first cloud of sleep'" (89). Significantly, the dreamer in this condition "thinks that he is still fully awake and imagines that he sees specters rushing at him or wandering vaguely about" (89). Macrobius, finally, places the incubus among these kinds of dreams, asserting once again that neither the *insomnium* nor the *visum* offers any assistance in foretelling the future.

Macrobius's treatment of these last two classes of dreams forms the basis of Tasso's treatment not only of Argillano's dream but also of his character and his mental disposition. Our first encounter with Argillano comes in a night sequence in Canto 8 of the *Liberata*. While everyone else falls into oblivious asleep, Argillano alone is kept awake by his agitated and disturbed thoughts:[3]

> Sorgea la notte intanto, e sotto l'ali
> ricopriva del cielo i campi immensi;
> e 'l sonno, ozio de l'alme, oblio de' mali,
> lusingando sopia le cure e i sensi.
> Tu sol punto, Argillan, d'acuti strali
> D'aspro dolor, volgi gran cose e pensi,
> né l'agitato sen né gli occhi ponno
> la quïete raccôrre o 'l molle sonno. (8.57)[4]

> (Meanwhile the night arose, hiding beneath
> its wings the boundless space of the sky;
> and sleep, which charms all cares and lulls all souls,
> silently soothed all senses and all aches.
> Argillan, you alone, are brooding low
> with bitter darts of anguish in your mind.
> Your eyes are still wide open, and your breast
> is too perturbed to know the calm of rest.)

The cause of Argillano's agitation is the great pain he feels for the death of Rinaldo, the supreme martial hero of the Christian army supposedly done away with by Goffredo his captain. Unable to sleep most of the night, Argillano at dawn falls finally into a confused and anxiety-ridden slumber:

Al fin questi [Argillano] su l'alba i lumi chiuse;
né già fu sonno il suo queto e soave,
ma fu stupor ch'Alecto al cor gl'infuse,
non men che morte sia profondo e grave. (8.59.1-4)

(At last, toward dawn, he closed his weary eyes,
but his was not a quiet, soothing sleep—
it was Alecto's stupor in his heart,
as deep and dark as quietude of death.)

The fury Alecto thus infuses Argillano's heart with stupor precisely at the moment when sleep is troubled or uncertain, at that moment when the mental and perceptual faculties ("le interne sue virtù") of the warrior, are "deluse / e riposo dormendo anco non have" (8.59.5-6) ("His inner valor through that sleep was stirred, / and could find no peace and know no rest."[5]) Moreover, Alecto presents herself to Argillano as a ghost or specter, the kind of unnatural vision characteristic of the incubus:

Gli *figura* un gran busto, ond'è diviso
il capo e de la destra il braccio è mozzo,
e sostien con la manca il teschio inciso,
di sangue e di pallor livido e sozzo. [italics mine] (8.60.1-4)

(She showed him a man's torso with the head
severed and with no hand on its right arm;
in its left hand it held a bleeding skull,
livid and soiled and pale and dripping blood.)

Tasso thus describes Alecto as "figuring" to Argillano the headless bust[6] of the supposedly wrongfully murdered Rinaldo. The use of the verb "figurare," it should be noted, suggests that Rinaldo's ghost is a sort of shadow or idol which, as Tasso points out in his dialogue *Il Cataneo overo degli idoli* (*Cataneo, or On Erotic Disputations*), the human mind subject to the appetites or to worldly ambition tends to paint for itself.[7] That Argillano is subject to worldly ambition, to the kinds of ambition that Macrobius cites as one of the causes of nightmares, is clear from the following passages. Argillano is first of all described by Tasso as a native of Ascoli Piceno,[8] a city known for its internecine strife and civil wars:

> Costui pronto di man, di lingua ardito,
> impetuoso e fervido d'ingegno,
> nacque in riva del Tronto e fu nutrito
> ne le risse civil d'odio e di sdegno. (8.58.1-4)

> (Agile of hand, improvident of tongue,
> and with a seething tempest in his brain,
> this man was born upon the Tronto's banks,
> and reared in civil feuds of hate and rage.)

Tasso also describes Argillano as a figure responsible for much of the bloodshed and depredation of his homeland. He is thus an exile who has joined the crusade almost as a last resort:[9]

> poscia in essiglio spinto, i colli e 'l lito
> empié di sangue e depredò quel regno,
> sin che ne l'Asia a guerreggiar se 'n venne
> e per fama miglior chiaro divenne. (8.58.5-8)

> (Exiled from his own land, he seized a throne,
> and stained with blood the mountains and the shores,
> until he came to join the Asian fight
> whereby he gave his name a better light.)

Argillano, then, is clearly characterized as a man predisposed toward anxiety about political matters, about matters regarding his future place in the world. When he addresses his fellow Italian soldiers the morning after his dream, his emphasis falls squarely upon the spoils and honours of war due to the Italian contingent. Not only does he remind them about the death of the greatest Italian hero Rinaldo, killed apparently by the barbaric and supposedly fraudulent Goffredo, but he emphasizes the martial achievements of Tancredi, the benefits of which have thus far gone only to the French:

> Taccio che fu da l'arme e da l'ingegno
> del buon Tancredi la Cilicia doma,
> e ch'ora il Franco a tradigion la gode,
> e i premi usurpa del valor la frode. (8.64.5-8)

> (I will not mention to you it was Tancred
> who tamed Cilicia with his mind and might,
> and yet this French enjoys it by his treason,
> usurping all, with fraud his only reason.)

His fear—the very fear he seeks to instill in his troop—is that all future honours and spoils of war will also go alone to the barbarous and tyrannous French soldier, "che non prezza ragion, che fé non serba" ("who listens to no reason and no faith") (8.63.5-6):

quando le palme poi, quando le prede
si dispensan ne l'ozio e ne la pace,
nostri in parte non son, ma tutti loro
i trionfi, gli onor, le terre e l'oro. (8.65.5-8)

(… but when the booty and the prize are cut
after the fight, in idleness and rest,
we always get the most appalling shares,
for lands, gold, honor, triumph ? all is theirs.)

As witness to the justice of his claims, Argillano calls upon the author-ity of God—"il Cielo" (literally heaven)—who has spoken to him in a dream. For Argillano, rhetoric and reasoned argument are not sufficient; sleep is the medium through which God in the language of dreams reveals His most profound truths:

Ma che cerco argomenti? Il Cielo io giuro
(il Ciel che n'ode e ch'ingannar non lice),
ch'allor che si rischiara il mondo oscuro,
spirito errante il [Rinaldo] vidi ed infelice. (8.68.1-4)

(But why speak further? Here I swear by God
[God Who now hears and cannot be betrayed]
that, as a dawn peeped faint on this dark earth,
I saw Rinaldo's erring, helpless ghost.)

Yet it is in this very claim to divine authority through dream that Argillano betrays the falseness of his vision. It is also here that Tasso most clearly draws upon Macrobius's commentary and makes implicit use of it to suggest the extent of the falseness of Argillano's vision. Macrobius claims that the person subject to the incubus believes that he is fully awake and not dreaming when he sees a ghost or specter (89). Argillano makes pre-cisely this claim to his fellow Italian troops, arguing that the "spettacolo" (sight) he has just seen is real and not a dream:

Che spettacolo, oimè, crudele e duro!
Quai frode di Goffredo a noi predice!
Io 'l vidi, e non fu sogno; e ovunque or miri,
par che dinanzi a gli occhi miei s'aggiri. (8.68.5-8)

(Ah, what a cruel and heart-rending sight!
What frauds of Godfrey's did he come to tell?
I saw him, wide awake, and now, wherever
I look, before my eyes he is forever.)

Argillano's false vision of the supposedly dead Rinaldo is thus the cul-minating point of his rhetoric, the most certain proof that Goffredo is a

fraudulent tyrant. From here Argillano moves to the peroration of his speech of rebellion and sedition, a peroration requiring no less than two and a half stanzas (8.69-71). Yet the concluding verses of Argillano's speech are not without importance, for they recall the concluding hortatory words spoken to Argillano by Rinaldo's headless ghost. In his speech to the troops Argillano speaks of "valore" (8.71.1), that same "valore" (valour) which is an essential aspect of the heroic identity of Virgil's Aeneas or Ariosto's Ruggiero. If Argillano gives emphasis to that valour which is the distinguishing characteristic of the traditional epic warrior, then Rinaldo's ghost does no less when it claims that it will be Argillano's minister of arms and ire, of strength and courage, in his rebellion against Goffredo:

> ... Io sarò teco, ombra di ferro e d'ira
> ministra, e t'armerò la destra e il seno. (8.62.1-2)
>
> (A battling ghost, a ministrant of wrath,
> I shall be near to arm your hand and heart.)

Strength and courage ("la destra e il seno") are valour in its most concrete manifestations. Argillano's false dream no less than his false rhetoric is thus founded upon traditional notions of epic and chivalric heroism, upon the kind of heroism of strength, to echo Northrop Frye's *The Secular Scripture*,[10] embodied by Achilles, Aeneas, Ruggiero.

As most every commentator of Tasso has pointed out, Goffredo's dream in Canto 14 of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* is clearly modeled after *Scipio's Dream*. Goffredo like Scipio has a vision of the heavens, he learns of the insignificance of the earth, and is told of his future place in the celestial city. All the defining elements of Macrobius's first three classes of dreams, moreover, are present: Goffredo's dream is oracular insofar as the Christian leader encounters the revered Ugone, former captain of the French forces; the dream is prophetic insofar as it predicts the fall of Jerusalem and the successful outcome of the war; finally, the dream is enigmatic because Ugone predicts in somewhat veiled language the union of Goffredo's house, the House of Lorraine, with Rinaldo's house, the House of Este.

The truthfulness of Goffredo's dream, moreover, is marked by the fact that it comes to him during a calm sleep ("un cheto sogno"). Calm sleep is also a precondition for the truthful dreams of Tancredi and of Arsete, Clorinda's guardian, in Canto 12.[11] Argillano's incubus, therefore, is the antithesis of Goffredo's truthful vision of the heavens, the earth, the future outcome of the war, and his own personal destiny.

Yet the contrast between these two dreams points to something much deeper at work in the universe of Tasso's epic masterpiece. It is highly iron-

ic, for example, that Alecto in the guise of Rinaldo's headless ghost promises to arm the right hand ("la destra") of Argillano, for when Goffredo arrives on the scene to quell the insurrection he is, significantly, unarmed.[12] His face and hands are naked and he carries only a sceptre:

> Ha la corazza indosso, e nobil veste
> riccamente l'adorna oltra 'l costume.
> Nudo è le mani e 'l volto, e di celeste
> maestà vi risplende un novo lume:
> scote l'aurato scettro, e sol con queste
> arme acquetar quegli impeti presume. (8.78.1-6)

> (He had his hauberk on, which a bright robe,
> richly embroidered, seemed to make more bright.
> His hands were bare, and bare his face was, too,
> which shone with light of majesty divine.
> He shook his golden scepter, and with that
> weapon alone he braved the ardent rage.)

Goffredo succeeds in quelling the rebellion with a speech that lasts exactly two and a half octaves or twenty verses, slightly less than one-third the length of Argillano's 64-verse oration to his fellow insurgents. The unarmed Goffredo, therefore, is a much more effective warrior than the fully armed and fully eloquent Argillano.

Yet Goffredo is also armed symbolically with a "novo lume," a new light which Fredi Chiappelli calls "eccezionale, mai prima vista su di lui" (exceptional, never before seen on him) (367). Chiappelli also points out that in this episode the "aureola cristiana si sovrappone alla figura epica tradizionale del guerriero a capo e mano ignuda" (the Christian aureola is superimposed on the traditional epic figure with bare head and hands) (367). Moreover, Tasso reports that a winged angel armed with a shield—"un alato guerrier[o]"—was present to protect Goffredo from any danger:

> È fama che fu visto in volto crudo
> ed in atto feroce e minacciante
> un alato guerrier tener lo scudo
> de la difesa al pio Buglion davante,
> e vibrar fulminando il ferro ignudo
> che di sangue vedeasi ancor stillante. (8.84.1-6)

> (They say everyone saw, when Godfrey spoke,
> in a ferocious, unforgiving act,
> a winged warrior, standing by his side
> and covering his body with a shield.

He like a lightening whirled his naked sword,
which seemed still dripping with some recent blood.)

The unarmed Goffredo represents here the new Christian heroic ideal in contrast with the traditional epic warrior of Homer and Virgil decayed to its lowest level in Argillano.

This decay is fully illustrated by Tasso's description of Argillano's entry into battle in Canto 9. Having been imprisoned by Goffredo for his insurgency, Argillano breaks free in order to join the Christian soldiers in battle against the powerful forces of Solimano. This episode is interesting for two reasons. First, Tasso uses the simile of the "destriero" or war-horse that has broken free from its stall and goes running unfettered to its favorite river:

> Come destrier che da le regie stalle,
> ove a l'uso de l'arme si riserba,
> fugge, e libero al fin per largo calle
> va tra gli armenti o al fiume usato o a l'erba:
> scherzan su 'l collo i crini, e su le spalle
> si scote la cervice alta e superba,
> suonano i piè nel corso e par ch'avampi,
> di sonori nitriti empiendo i campi ... (9.75)

> (Just as a steed out of the royal stalls,
> where he is kept for future needs of war,
> breaks loose and, free on the free road at last,
> prances through the herds, and sees old rills and grass;
> the breezes touch and fondle his long mane,
> and new pride shows in his majestic head;
> his hoofs resound in the wild course, ablaze,
> and all the fields are filled with joyous neighs ...)

The same simile is used not only by Homer to describe Paris's return to battle against the Greeks in Book 6 of the *Iliad* (6.506ff), but also by Virgil to describe Turnus's entry into battle against Aeneas and his Trojans in Book 11 of the *Aeneid* (11.492ff). Yet, if Argillano's action is meant to recall the tragic fate of Turnus and the terrible destruction of Troy, it also points out just how far it falls short of its classical predecessors. In his description of Paris's return to battle, Homer is careful to make reference to the glorious armour of Helen's lover:

> And Paris did not dally long in his high house, but once he had put on his glorious armour of intricate bronze, he dashed through the city, sure of the speed of his legs.[13]

In Book 11 of the *Aeneid* (11.486-491) Virgil is even more detailed in his description of Turnus's arming himself for battle:

> As for Turnus, he, with emulous fury, girds himself for the fray. And now he has donned his flashing breastplate and bristles with brazen scales; his legs he had sheathed in gold, his temples are yet bare, and his sword he had buckled to his side. Glittering in gold, he runs down from the fortress height; he exults in courage, and in hope even now seizes the foe. (Fairclough 267-268)

The two classical intertexts are thus clear about one specific point: Paris and Turnus each dresses in his own glorious armour. It is no accident then if, before entering battle in Canto 9 of the *Liberata*, Argillano dresses in the "uncertain arms" which fate or chance offers to him then and there:

> e d'arme incerte il frettoloso avolto,
> quali il caso gli offerse o triste o buone ... (9.74.3-6)
>
> (In his impulsive haste he dons the first
> armor he sees, takes the first sword he finds ...)

Argillano's dressing himself in unfamiliar arms thus indicates the extent of the gap which Tasso seeks to establish between himself and his classical forerunners. Indeed, Tasso's description of Argillano's return to battle reads much like a parody of the classical models. We get a very strong sense that Argillano unlike Paris or Turnus enters the battle not fully or properly armed, and that this fact is meant to recall subtly the image of the unarmed Goffredo who quashes the insurrection in his own camp.

And this brings us to our second point, for the contrast between the dream of Argillano and the dream of Goffredo goes even further: if Goffredo's effectiveness as leader derives from heaven, from the "alato guerrier" or armed angel, Argillano himself claims during the fighting in Canto 9 that his fate rests fully with heaven: "— Di mia sorte / curi il Ciel,— " (9.80.5-6), he says to Ariadino, a pagan soldier he has just killed. Not only does Argillano's return to battle prove to be a parody of its classical models, but his wearing "arme incerte" proves to be an ironic parallel to Goffredo's unarmed strength and command. Argillano's strength and courage, his "destra" and his "seno," are thus the antithesis of the new Christian heroism that Goffredo embodies and most fully symbolizes in his unprotected hands and face. And if in his action to extinguish the rebellion Goffredo is filled with a "novo lume" (a light of majesty divine), so too Argillano in breaking free of prison and entering the field of battle hopes to make amends for "gli errori / novi con novi merti e novi onori" (his recent shame / with recent deeds of honor and of fame) (9.74.7-8)]. Yet

Argillano's desire for redemption leads nowhere. He is killed by Solimano as revenge for the treacherous killing of Lesbino and is never heard from again. With him Tasso appears to bury the last vestiges of the traditional or classical warrior, the warrior motivated above all by ire and relying wholly upon the strength of his arms for success. If Argillano's false dream is the perfect antithesis of Goffredo's true vision, then the kind of heroism he seeks to embody also proves to be antithetical to the new heroism represented above all by Goffredo.

Yet it is not altogether correct to say that Argillano alone represents the last vestiges of the traditional heroic warrior, for a more positive example of its disappearance may actually be found in the figure of Clorinda,[14] a figure whose heroism is best summed up by Arsete's description of her youthful development: "Crescesti, e in arme valorosa e ardita / vincesti il sesso e la natura assai" (And you grew up and, bold and brave, / outvanquished Nature and your own fair sex) (12.38.3-4)]. But, if Clorinda's traditional heroism leads to a transformation "in an upward direction"[15] to her ascension into heaven and her beatification following her death at the hands of Tancredi in Canto 12, Argillano's desired redemption leads to a downward metamorphosis into mere earth—as his very name suggests—[16] and a final symbolic association with death. Tasso's description of Solimano's reaction of insane fury to the sight of Argillano's corpse is highly significant:

> Né di ciò ben contento, al corpo morto
> smontato del destriero anco fa guerra,
> quasi mastin che 'l sasso, ond'a lui porto
> fu duro colpo, infellonito afferra.
> Oh d'immenso dolor vano conforto
> incrudelir ne l'insensibil terra! (9.88.1-6)

> (Not sated with all this, he now dismounts,
> and on the fallen body still makes war—
> an irritated mastiff biting hard
> the very stone by which he has been struck.
> O empty comfort of a boundless pain,
> to rage against a dull, insentient clod!)

Argillano fails where Clorinda succeeds precisely because he seeks redemption according to the dictates and principles of the traditional heroism embodied by Paris and Turnus. The very fact that redemption is impossible based upon these terms suggests the extent to which the traditional heroic virtues[17] are void of any real moral content. The upward direction of Clorinda's metamorphosis founds itself upon the significance of her

last-minute baptism. This baptism represents a shift from a concern with the traditional heroic virtues to a concern with the Christian or theological virtues, the most important of which is *carità* or charity:

> Ella, mentre cadea, la voce afflitta
> movendo, disse le parole estreme;
> parole ch'a lei novo un spirto ditta,
> spirto di fé, di carità, di speme:
> virtù ch'or Dio le infonde, e se rubella
> in vita fu, la vuole in morte ancella. (12.65.3-8)

> (She, as she falls, in sad and feeble tones
> says her last words, which a new spirit moves ?
> a spirit of faith and charity and hope,
> a virtue God instills now in her heart.
> He wants the one whose life denied His love
> to find in death His pardoning arms above.)

At the very moment of baptism Clorinda leaves behind the old heroic virtues and takes on the "new" virtue of *carità*. Argillano too had sought "novi merti" and "novi onori," but not in those same terms which the "novo spirto" dictates to Clorinda.[18] If for Argillano the classical virtues remain the most fundamental and real aspect of his heroic identity, for Clorinda they become the mere shadow of that virtue which issues forth from the "novo spirto." Clorinda thus undergoes a transformation that involves a shift from type to antitype, from the traditionally positive heroic virtues of pagan culture to the highest expression of virtuous heroism possible within Christian culture. Argillano, meanwhile, by adhering strictly to the traditional pagan or gentile virtues, has no hope of transcending his condition as type, of becoming the antitype of his former self and thus rising above the world of human history.

For Tasso the supreme heroic act remains Christ's sacrifice; all previous notions or concepts of heroism and heroic virtue remain mere shadows or figures of this supreme event in human history. If Christ's sacrifice is the supreme act of *carità*, then *carità* becomes the foundation of that heroism which is the antitype of all preceding forms of heroism. Christ's heroic *carità*, finally, is the supreme *exemplum* which all subsequent heroes or concepts of heroism must imitate and follow, as Tasso writes in the *Discorso della virtù eroica e della carità*:

> Ma così la gentile, come l'Ebrea carità furono carità imperfette, percioc-
> chè ad imperfetto obietto furono dirizzate; e la gentile massimamente,
> che si fermò negli amici, o nella patria, o nel padre: perché l'Ebrea pure
> in alcun modo a Dio si rivolgeva; ma non vi si fermando, a lui, come a

donatore de' beni temporali, principalmente si rivolgeva: l'una, e l'altra nondimeno furono ombra, e figura della Cristiana Carità, la quale nel nascimento di Cristo cominciò, ed in Cristo ebbe la sua perfezione, quando per risquotere l'umana generazione dalle mani del Diavolo volle volontariamente sopportare la morte, e ad esempio della sua carità molti, che con lui vissero, e molti, che dopo l'hanno imitato, furono ripieni di eccessiva carità. (178-179)[19]

(But both Gentile and Hebrew charity were imperfect forms of charity, for they were directed toward imperfect objects; and Gentile charity most of all, which stopped at friends, or nation, or the father: because Hebrew charity was even in some way directed toward God; but it did not stop there, with Him, for as a giver of earthly goods principally it directed itself to Him. The one and the other nevertheless were the shadow and the figure of Christian charity, which began with the birth of Christ, and in Christ had its perfection, when, in order to save humankind from the hands of the Devil, it voluntarily withstood death; and the many who lived with him, following the example of his charity, and the many who afterward have imitated him, were full of excessive charity.[20])

Tasso's use of the dream in the *Liberata*, therefore, is linked to the desire to define the identity of the true Christian hero and along with it the shape or form of the ideal Christian epic. Tasso uses dreaming in the *Liberata* in such a way as to connect it to the fundamental problem of invention—[21] "invention" in rhetorical relationship between traditional heroism, no longer relevant within a Christian context, and "true" Christian heroism founded upon *carità*. For Tasso the solution seems to involve a kind of typological rhetoric,[22] a rhetoric in which the old heroism is redefined as the type of which the new "charitable" heroism is the antitype. The fundamental antithesis of the dreams of Argillano and Goffredo thus points to the subordinate status of all heroic virtues not directly founded upon the supreme Christian virtue of *carità*. By linking the traditional virtues of strength and courage to the nightmare and incubus, Tasso points to their inherent incompleteness within a Christian context. Clorinda's upward metamorphosis, the transcendence of her former self, indicates Tasso's need to give expression to a new notion of heroism, one which imitates the most pressing belief of his time and of his society—Christ's mayrtrdom, death and resurrection.[23] Within this perspective, Argillano's dream and his final metamorphosis into inanimate and inarticulate earth marks the end not only of the traditional heroic ideal, but also the end of one literary tradition and the emergence of another.

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NOTES

[1]Another work of oneirocriticism which Tasso knew is Synesius's *De somniis* (see Carini 102, 106). Antonio Garzya provides a recent Italian translation of Synesius.

[2]According to Stahl, the bulk of Macrobius's classification of dreams "bears striking resemblances to the classification given by Artemidorus at the opening of his *Onirocriticon* and at times would serve as a free translation of the Greek work" (88n). See Robert J. White's translation of Artemidorus's *The Interpretation of Dreams*.

[3]Throughout this paper I cite Fredi Chiappelli's edition of the *Liberata*. I rely on Joseph Tusiani's edition for the English translations.

[4]Nardi and Caretti, in their editions of the *Liberata*, are in agreement with Chiappelli's view that the model for this passage is the stanza in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* which describes Orlando's insomnia:

> Già in ogni parte gli animanti lassi
> davan riposo ai travagliati spirti,
> chi su le piume, e chi sui duri sassi,
> e chi su l'erbe, e chi su faggi o mirti:
> tu le palpèbre, Orlando, a pena abbassi,
> punto da' tuoi pensieri acuti et irti;
> né quel sì breve e fuggitivo sonno
> godere in pace anco lasciar ti ponno. (*OF* 8.79)

> (All creatures on the earth to rest their bones,
> Or to refresh their souls, now took their ease,
> Some on soft beds and others on hard stones,
> Some on the grass, still others in the trees;
> But you, Orlando, amid tears and groans,
> Your eyelids scarce have closed to gain release.
> Those irksome, goading thoughts give no respite,
> Not in your sleep, so fitful and so light.)

The English translation of this passage from the *Orlando Furioso* is by Barbara Reynolds. In his edition of the *Liberata*, Luigi Russo points to a sonnet "Al sonno" by Della Casa as a possible model (161).

[5]Tusiani translation.

[6]Caretti, Nardi and Chiappelli, along with Cianculo and Gentili in their edition of the *Liberata*, agree in pointing out that this image recalls that of Bertran de Born from Canto 28 of the *Inferno*. David Quint too points out that "the dream vision of Alecto in the guise of the mutilated Rinaldo is drawn from Dante's headless figure of Bertran de Born" (4).

[7]In "Il Cataneo overo de gli idoli" Tasso, under the guise of the Forestiero Napoletano, argues as follows: "E ciascun di questi appetiti, i' dico l'amore, la cupidità d'avere e l'ambizione, si divide in molti altri; e tutti si volgono ad un

obietto particolare il qual s'imprime ne la fantasia: dunque l'anima affettuosa è quasi un tempio d'idolatria; e la nostra imaginazione è la pittura ne la quale sono impressi gli idoli e adorati non altramente che fosser dei terreni" (192). (And each of these appetites, I mean love, the desire to possess, and ambition, is divided into many others; and all are directed toward a particular object which impresses itself upon the imagination: the appetitive soul, then, is like a temple of idolatry, and our imagination is the paint in which the idols are impressed and adored no differently than if they were earthly gods [translation mine].)

[8]While most commentators claim that Argillano is an imaginary character, Cianculo and Gentili seem to think that he was a real person (358). Quint argues that "Tasso may have modelled Argillano upon a particular historical bandit, Mariano Parisani, who was active around Ascoli in the 1560s" (8).

[9]Quint argues that the bandit Mariano Parisani, after terrifying the territory of Ascoli Piceno for five years, "left the region altogether and served as an honored mercenary in the employ of the dukes of Savoy and Tuscany." He adds: "Parisani's career is strikingly parallel to that of Tasso's Argillano, the bandit who turns his powers to a better military cause" (8).

[10]On the distinction between strength and fraud, *forza* and *froda*, Northrop Frye writes: "*Forza* and *froda* being the two essential elements of sin, it follows that they must be the two cardinal virtues of human life as such. Machiavelli personified them as the lion and the fox, the force and cunning which together make up the strong prince. So it is not surprising that European literature should begin with the celebration of these two mighty powers of humanity, of the *forza* of the *Iliad*, the story of the wrath (*menis*) of Achilles, of *froda* in the *Odyssey*, the story of the guile (*dolos*) of Ulysses" (*Secular Scripture*, 65-66).

[11]St. George appears to Arsete twice in dreams. He appears the first time to admonish him for not having baptized Clorinda, and this occurs "quando / tutte in alto silenzio eran le cose" ("when silence deeply veiled all things on earth") (12.36.2). The second time, the night before Clorinda's death, he appears when Arsete's mind is "oppressa / d'alta quïete e simile a la morte" ("deep plunged in that deep peace resembling death") (12.39.2). After her death, Clorinda appears to Tancredi in a dream only after sleep has taken him: "Al fin co 'l novo dì rinchiude alquanto / i lumi, e 'l sonno in lor serpe fra 'l pianto" ("At last, as the new dawn's first shimmer shows, / a peaceful slumber grants his eyes repose") (12.90.7-8).

[12]Cianculo and Gentili refer to a similar scene in Book 12 of the *Aeneid* (12.311-312) in which the unarmed Aeneas recalls his troops from battle: "But good Aeneas, with head bared, was stretching forth his unarmed hand, and calling loudly to his men" (Fairclough 321).

[13]See Hamond's translation of the *Iliad* 141.

[14]For Quint "Argillano is a mirror-figure of the poem's central hero, Rinaldo, in whose name he leads his revolt. He repeats Rinaldo's own earlier act of insubordination against Goffredo: Rinaldo's refusal to submit to Goffredo's judgement in Canto 5 (42-44) after he has killed the insulting Norwegian prince Gernando

... Argillano's rebellion thus inflicts the civil strife and wounds on the Christian body politic which Rinaldo had been on the point of inflicting himself. Conversely, Rinaldo's eventual decision to leave the Crusader camp in exile is much like the schismatic departure from Jerusalem that Argillano will later urge upon his followers" (10-11).

[15]This passage is used by Frye in chapter 4 of *The Great Code*, "Typology I," to describe the kind of "future metamorphosis of nature" characteristic of the Bible (97).

[16]The name Argillano derives, of course, from "argilla" or earth.

[17]On the heroic virtues, see Steadman 1-23.

[18]It is highly significant that the words "novo spirto" or "spirito novo" appear only twice in the poem, once in connection with Clorinda (12.65) and once in relation to Argillano (8.62). The "novo spirto" who dictates to Clorinda the "spirto di fé, di carità, di speme" has its parodic pre-figuration in Canto 8 when the narrator offers a description of the effects of Alecto's oration in the form of Rinaldo's ghost on Argillano: "Così gli parla, e nel parlar gli spira / spirito novo di furor ripieno" ("Alecto by these words inflamed his breast / with a new strength that seethed with a new rage") (8.62.3-4).

[19]Recently, Tasso scholars have pointed out the importance of this small work, written while Tasso was still at Sant'Anna. See Ardissino's article. On the question of exemplarity in Tasso, see Hampton 81-133.

[20]The translation is mine.

[21]When in the *Discorso del poema eroico* Tasso talks of love as an appropriate subject matter for the epic, he does so in the second book on *inventio*; see Tasso's "Discorso del poema eroico," 103-108.

[22]On typology, see Frye: "Typology is a figure of speech that moves in time: the type exists in the past and the antitype in the present, or the type exists in the present and the antitype in the future" (Great Code, 80). In reference to the Bible and in particular the relationship between the Old and New Testaments, Frye writes: "Everything that happens in the Old Testament is a 'type' or adumbration of something that happens in the New Testament ... what happens in the New Testament constitutes an 'antitype,' a realized form of something foreshadowed in the Old Testament" (Great Code, 79).

[23]For a discussion of martyrdom as a new heroic ideal in Tasso, see Hampton 122ff.

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CARLA MARCATO

'SLEEP' – 'DREAM' – 'VISION': SOME SIGNIFIERS AND
DESIGNATA IN LATIN AND THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Introduction

Sleep and one of the most significant aspects of sleep, dream, not to men-
tion vision—that which is generally but not always seen in a dream while
sleeping, and which can, therefore, be the same as dream—are phenome-
na that influence human history, and around which myths, legends and
symbols have been created. The importance attributed to dream and vision
derives from the fact that they allow man contact with the supernatural,
the mysterious, the fantastic. *Oneiromancy*, or the art of interpreting
dreams, is the subject of full-fledged treatises, and in each case it offers var-
ious interpretive keys for dreams, keys for distinguishing true dreams from
false or bad dreams (i.e. the incubus), or for recognizing the possibility that
a dream may or may not reveal the future. As far as sleep goes, it is its sim-
ilarity with the state of death and the alternation between sleep and wake-
fulness—similar to the one between night and day—that grants it a space
all its own in religion and myth. In Greek mythology, Sleep, the son of
Erebus and of Night, is the twin brother of Thanatos, death.

The phenomenology of sleep, and the psychic activities connected to
it, is highly complex; it involves not only science, but also religion, philos-
ophy, literature, and art.

If sleep, leaving aside its varied features, is a situation easily understood
and definable for everyone, this is not the case for that which we see either
in sleep or in states that are in some way similar if not equal to wakeful-
ness—one need only think of the expression 'daydreaming' or, in Italian,
'sognare ad occhi aperti' (to dream with one's eyes open).[1] The difficulty in
classifying through words situations that imply different experiences, ones
which do not fall within the coordinates of time and space, is also reflect-
ed in the lexical repertory relating to such experiences. Words that overlap
formally are charged with semantic density, and their meanings are so
enriched by metaphor that they present themselves to us with highly
nuanced contours, and a rich vocabulary of synonyms ensues.

Dream is not only the psychic activity that occurs during sleep; it is also the content of a dream, or the images that populate dream. But dream is also an assembly of figural meanings: a fantastic imagination, a condition of particular well-being or happiness. A dream can also be called a vision; dream and vision can coincide as phenomena, and the words which designate them can be synonyms. But this is not always the case, for, contrary to dream, vision can be considered a truthful apparition. Moreover, vision is also hallucination, ecstasy, and spiritual contemplation.[2] It can also be induced with specific techniques, and has a particular meaning for the history of religion; in some religions it can also mean direct contact with the divine. Exceptional visions can also be the objects of literary works, ones that consist essentially in the retelling of a dream-vision (hence so-called 'visionary literature'). Visions which are objects of literary works

> consistono nell'affacciarsi, alla esperienza del soggetto (autore, personaggio di un dialogo o di un racconto), di una realtà sovrasensibile (di solito l'oltretomba) e comunque inaccessibile ai modi usuali di conoscenza (futuro terreno personale, proprio o altrui; escatologia individuale o collettiva) e, conformemente a ciò, l'esposizione delle circostanze entro le quali le visioni si attuano comprende di norma, per il protagonista, una sospensione dello stato di coscienza vigile: il sogno o una vera e propria cesura improvvisa (catalessi o altri modi di morte apparente) o l'estasi in tutta la sua gamma di modalità.[3]
>
> (consist of the appearance, in the experience of the subject [the author or the character in a dialogue or a narrative], of a supersensory reality [usually the afterlife] in any case inaccessible to the usual modes of knowing [one's own personal, earthly future or someone else's; individual or collective eschatology], and, in conformity with this, the exposition of the circumstances within which visions occur involves, as a rule, for the protagonist a suspension of the state of vigilant consciousness: dream, or a veritable sudden caesura [catalepsy or other modes of apparent death], or ecstasy in the full range of its modalities.)

In visionary literature, in particular of the Latin-Christian tradition centred on a vision of the beyond, vision is often connected to states of apparent death, to situations of grave infirmity: "ex profunda mortis quiete" (from the deep quiet of death), "admirandas visiones de illo redivivo" (the wonderful visions of that resurrected one); vision can also be rendered with a formula, as in the following attestation: "[mulier] que in extasi rapta" (a woman who was rapt in ecstasy) which continues with "rediens multa ac miranda narravit" (when she returned told of many wondrous things), in which the participle *rediens* "caratterizza il testo come resocon-

to di un 'viaggio' nell'aldilà" (Ciccarese 224, 342, 394) (characterizes the text as an account of a 'voyage' to the beyond).

Whoever wishes to map out the Italian and, more generally, the Romance lexical terrain pertaining to the concepts of sleep, dream, and vision, runs the risk of ending up with a confusion of words. Each of these words often intersects with the others, and not only on a formal level, but, especially, on a semantic one; the determination of a taxonomy is thus extremely problematic. Hence the necessity to make a selection of the lexical material available and to choose a perspective from which to initiate the analysis. We will move ahead, therefore, from the words *sonno, sogno, visione* (sleep, dream, vision) as used in Italian, reserving for them a larger space within the scope of the Romance languages.[4] We will also make reference especially to early documentation that appears more considerable in terms of both its formal variants and meaning. It should be observed, meantime, that in Italian *visione* (vision), as opposed to *sogno* (dream), is a word belonging to the cultured and literary traditions, and, moreover, that in old Italian *sonno* (sleep) can also be used to indicate *sogno* (dream). We will consider, then, the Latin situation, pausing in particular on the terms *somnus, somnium, visio* (the origin for the Italian *sonno, sogno, visione*) and their evolution in the Romance languages. The reconstruction of meanings and signifiers from Latin to the Romance languages—a task which proves complex because of the difficulty in tracing clear boundaries between phenomena such as dream and vision—takes into account not only what has been lexically retained, but also the principal innovations with respect to Latin.

The analysis of other phenomena and the pertinent terminology, which in part can cover the same range of meanings, such as, for example, *sopore* (sopor), *apparenza* (apparition) or *incubo* (incubus), are not dealt with in this essay. Nor will other elements that have been amply documented and have been the subject of a variety of opinions, conjectures, and speculation, such as the quality of dream: whether, for example, a dream is good or bad, i.e. an *incubo* (a word which, at least in the Italian tradition, finds an ample synonymity in dialect);[5] whether what is seen in sleep is truthful and forewarning or not, as the following saying teaches; 'I sogni non son veri e' pensieri non riescono' (literally, dreams are not true and thought is limited), questions which even Boccaccio treated.

> E però, amorose donne, voi dovete sapere che general passione è di ciascuno che vive il veder varie cose nel sonno, le quali quantunque a colui che dorme, dormendo, tutte paian verissime, e desto lui, alcune vere, alcune verisimili e parte fuori d'ogni verità giudichi, nondimeno molte

esservene avvenute si truovano. Per la qual cosa molti a ciascun sogno tanta fede prestano quanta presterieno a quelle cose le quali vegghiando vedessero, e per li lor sogni stessi s'attristano e s'allegrano secondo che per quegli o temono o sperano; e in contrario son di quegli che niuno ne credono se non poi che nel premostrato pericolo caduti si veggono; de' quali né l'uno né l'altro commendo, per ciò che né sempre son veri né ogni volta falsi. Che essi non sien tutti veri assai volte può ciascun di noi aver conosciuto, e che essi tutti non sien falsi, già di sopra nella novella di Filomena s'è dimostrato e nella mia, come davanti dissi, intendo di dimostrarlo. Per che giudico che nel virtuosamente vivere e operare di niuno contrario sogno a ciò si dee temere né per quello lasciare i buoni proponimenti: nelle cose perverse e malvagie, quantunque i sogni a quelle paiano favorevoli e con seconde dimostrazioni chi gli vede confortino, niuno se ne vuol credere, e così nel contrario a tutti dar piena fede. (*Decameron* 4.6.330-331)

(For the fact is, dear ladies, that every living being suffers from the common affliction of seeing various things in his sleep. And although whilst he is asleep they all seem absolutely real, and after waking up he judges some to be real, others possible, and a portion of them totally incredible, nevertheless you will find that many of them come true in the end. This explains why a lot of people have just as much faith in their dreams as they would have in the things they see when they are wide awake, and why their dreams are sufficient of themselves to make them cheerful if they have seen something encouraging, or sorrowful if they have been frightened. At the other extreme there are those who refuse to believe in dreams until they discover that they have fallen into the very predicament of which they are forewarned. In my opinion, neither of these attitudes is commendable, because dreams are neither true every time nor always false. That they are not all true, each of us has frequently had occasion to discover; that they are not all false has been demonstrated a little while ago in Filomena's story, and, as I said earlier, I intend to show it in my own. For I maintain that if one conducts one's life virtuously, there is no reason to be afraid of any dream that encourages one to behave differently or to abandon one's good intentions because of it: and if one harbours perverse and wicked intentions, however much one's dreams appear favorable to these and encourage one to pursue them by presenting auspicious omens, none of them should be believed, whilst full credence should be given to those which predict the opposite.)

Having good and bad dreams is another topic that is amply discussed in treatises on the subject, such as the sixteenth-century work by Gerolamo Cardano, who considers the consequences of certain choices of food:

> Se infatti si hanno sogni turbolenti, molto movimentati, vari, oscuri, imperfetti e poco coerenti, diremo allora che provengono dal cibo o dal

bere. E ciò accade in cinque modi. O perché i cibi sono quelli che hanno la natura della testa del polipo, del cavolo, della cipolla, dell'ossimele, del coriandolo fresco — come ho detto —, e possiamo aggiungere il frutto del giunco, quasi tutte le specie di erba mora, il giusquiamo, la mandragola, il vino, denso e abbondante; insomma tutto ciò che provoca il sonno e genera la bile nera come i legumi e specialmente le fave. Oppure a causa della quantità e della varietà delle cose ingerite, o a causa dell'ordine sbagliato, quando si mangia molto e cibi di diverso genere, e si mescolano diverse bevande; oppure se a cibo crudo si aggiunge altro cibo; o se il cibo assunto genera disturbi di digestione. (Cardano 32)

(if, in fact, one has turbulent dreams, very animated, varied, obscure, imperfect and incoherent, we will say then that these derive from food or from drink. And this occurs in five ways. Either because the foods have the nature of the head of the polyp, of cabbage, of onions, of *ossimele*, of fresh coriander—as I said—, and we can add the fruit of the rush, almost all kinds of herbs, henbane, the mandrake, wine which is dense and abundant; in short, all that which induces sleep and generates black bile, such as legumes and especially broad beans. Or because of the quantity and the variety of the things ingested, or because of the wrong order, when one eats a great deal, and foods of different kinds, and one mixes different drinks; or if one adds other food to raw food; or if the food ingested generates problems of digestion.)

The relationship between some nutritive substances, in particular certain foods, and sleeping well and having good dreams, is amply documented; among the foods recommended, there are the following examples taken from documents dating back to the fourteenth century:

Cerano è una petra fata cum'una sagitta imbarbata ... E fa soniare buoni sonii, e no lassa esser morto in batagla. Et è-nne de duo manere e volel-sse portare castamente in cuoro. (Tomasoni 153)

(*Cerano* is a stone made like a barbed arrow ... And it causes one to have good dreams, and it keeps one from being killed in battle. And it is of two types and one should carry it chastely in leather.)

A provocare il sonno prendasi del suo seme [di lattuga], e si confetti con latte di femmina che nutrica fanciulla femmina e con l'albume d'uovo, e sene faccia impiastro sopra le tempie ... A provocare il sonno facciasi impiastro dell'uno e dell'altro seme [di papavero bianco e nero], o dell'uno col latte della femmina e con l'albume dell'uovo intorno alle tempie .... (Crescenzi 2:291.308)

(To induce sleep take the seed of lettuce, and coat with the milk of a woman who is nursing a female child and with egg white, and apply the poultice to the temples ... To induce sleep make a poultice around the temples of both seeds [black and white poppy seed], or of one of these with the milk of a woman and with egg white ....).

But the sleep-inducing properties of poppies or lettuce (while leeks or beans produce the contrary effect) are in any case well known; they are also part of the tradition of writings in which culinary practice is combined with information on diet and alimentary hygiene, such as, for example, the fifteenth-century treatise by Bartolomeo Platina.[6]

On the Italian Term sonno (sleep)

It should be pointed out that in its modern usage the Italian word *sonno*, a continuation of the Latin *somnus* (which, as we shall see, meant both 'sleep' and 'dream'), indicates 'a state of repose, sleep, a sleep,' and the 'sensation of physical fatigue, of torpor which induces sleep, or the desire to sleep' etc., used also in expressions such as *fare sonno, indurre al sonno, morire di sonno* (to sleep, cause to sleep, to be dying to sleep or a sleepy head),[7] and others. The meanings indicated have been documented for the earliest periods. One can add, moreover, particular designations: sleep as the "personificazione o identificazione con la divinità che presiede al riposo e al sopore, ispiratrice di sogni e visioni notturne"[8] (the personification or identification with the divinity which governs rest and sopor, inspiration for dreams and nocturnal visions), as witnessed in literature from Poliziano to Montale; sleep as a designation for death, used more or less in euphemistic expressions such as *sonno della morte, eterno sonno, ultimo sonno, ferreo sonno, sonno di pace* (sleep of death, eternal sleep, final sleep, inexorable sleep, peaceful sleep), and already present, of course, in ancient literature: "What is sleep but cold death's imitation?" ("Quid est somnus gelidae nisi mortis imago?") (Ovid, *Amores*, 2.9.41.40).

In old Italian the word is also equivalent to 'dream,' 'oniric vision,' as attested in various sources from Cavalcanti to Dante to Poliziano. The following examples are taken from Salvatore Battaglia's *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (GDLI):

> Disse ka uno die se gia cazanno et adormiose, et in sompno l'aperse deus Mercurius e disseli ke devea avere molie de Grecia (*Storie de Troia et de Roma*)
> (He said that one day he was going hunting and fell asleep, and in a dream the god Mercury appeared to him and told him that he was to take a Greek wife) (*History of Troy and Rome*)

> M'avea mostrato per lo suo forame / più lune già, quand'io feci 'l mal sonno, / che del futuro mi squarciò il velame (Dante, *Inferno*, 33: 25-28)
> (He had shown me many moons through its opening, when I had the bad dream that ripped open the veil of the future for me.)

With regard to the formal aspect, one notices the form *sónno* with a closed vowel; this example reflects a particular Tuscan treatment of open _o_ (from the short _o_ of Latin) which before _n_ appears as closed _o_ (Rohlfs, 1966, 138). Alongside *sónno*, one also encounters old variants such as *sómno*, with the consonant cluster fully intact according to the Latin model, and also variants with consonantal epenthesis as in *sómpno*. The form *sóno* presents the consonantal degemination typical of northern Italian variants. In the variant *suónno*, we have a diphthong that is not in the repertory of the Italian literary language but is frequent in southern dialects.[9] The old Italian plural of *sonno* presents also the variant *sónnora*, understood as feminine with the old neutral desinence _ora_. It was at one time widely diffused as the plural ending in various Italian dialects[10] (as well as in the old Italian literary language)[11] along with *sonna*, with the ending _a_ (originally neutral, then extended to words which approximate a collective concept or signify things understood as inanimate;[12] below are some documented examples of the variants mentioned:[13]

> per far tranquilli i tuoi dubbiosi sonna (Venuti)
> (to calm your troubled dreams)
>
> Primo suonno[14] era (Anonimo romano)
> (it was the first phase of sleep)
>
> in quillo mio sompno (Guido delle Colonne volgar.)
> (in that dream of mine).

On the Italian Term sogno (dream)

The word *sógno*, which etymologically continues the Latin *somnium*, presents various old Italian variants such as *sógnio*, *sómpnio*, *sóngnio*, *sónio*, *sónnio*, with different spellings which render the palatal nasal and the forms it yields. The unusual form *suóno* with a diphthong is also present (see section above on *sonno*, also for the quality of the vowel). Old Italian plural forms in the feminine are *sógnora* and *sónna* (cf. above for the plural forms of *sonno*).

The term designates the "attività psichica che si svolge durante il sonno, contraddistinta da emozioni, percezioni, pensieri che prendono forma in sequenze d'immagini" (psychic activity that occurs during sleep, marked by emotions, perceptions, thoughts that take the form of a sequence of images) and also "ciascuna di tali sequenze di immagini" (each of these sequences of images); secondary meanings include "apparenza fallace, illusoria" (false, illusory appearance), "creazione della fantasia che inventa un modo alternativo e diverso, nel bene e nel male, nel presente o

nel futuro rispetto a quello reale, con cui lo integra o a cui più spesso lo contrappone come ideale da raggiungere" (a creation of the imagination that invents an alternative and different mode, good or bad, present or future, with respect to the real one, with which it blends or, more usually, is set against as an ideal to be reached), "ipotesi fantasiosa" (fanciful hypothesis), "ciò che si desidera fortemente" (that which is strongly desired) etc., as revealed by the GDLI with numerous examples. Among these are the following:

> Leggesi di Nabuccodinosor, che fue re che vide sognora che molto lo spaventarono (Giamboni)
> (One reads of Nebuchadnezzar, that he was a king who saw dreams that frightened him very much)

> e dorme senza sonnia, / ch'è 'n veretate d'onnia, / c'à repusato el core / ne lo divino amore (Iacopone)
> (and he sleeps tranquilly without dreams because he possesses all truth since he has rested his heart in divine love)

> La nocte sequente el papa vedde in sompnio uno omo povero, in tucto e per tucto multo simile ad sancto Francesco (Vita di san Francesco)
> (The following night the Pope saw in a dream a poor man, in every way closely resembling Saint Francis) (Life of Saint Francis)

> Bene che moiti suoni siano vannitati, siano moite delusioni de demonia, nientedemeno moiti suoni se trova omo veri como Dio li inspirassi, spezialmente in persone temperate (Anonimo romano)
> (Although many dreams are vain, and many are delusions caused by demons, nonetheless one finds that many dreams are true, as though God inspired them, especially in temperate persons)

> Apparve in sonnio / il fratel al fratello, in forma e in abito / che s'era dimostrato sul proscenio / nostro più volte a recitar principi (Gabriele Ariosto).
> (The brother appeared to his brother in a dream, in the form and in the dress in which he had many times appeared on the stage to recite the role of princes)

On the Italian Term visione (vision)
The word *visione* is a learned term which continues the Latin *visio, -onis* (DEI), literally the action of seeing; it means above all 'to see,' especially seeing a thing in order to examine it, observing something in order to extract information. Among its meanings, however, we also find 'deception,' 'illusion.' *Visione* is also a visual hallucination, the "percezione di qualcosa che non esiste e pure è ritenuto reale" (Galimberti 32) (perception

of something that does not exist and yet is held to be real); this meaning usually has a religious or allegorical content.

From the documentation it is clear that the term *visione* covers a series of phenomena that go from dream to ecstasy.[15] It overlaps in part with *sogno* (dream), and it can occur in sleep or in other conditions (while waking or falling asleep), or in other particular states. In old Italian it is sometimes set in opposition to *sogno* (dream), because it has prophetic qualities and designates a truthful apparition:[16]

> Pensando di lei, mi sopragiunse uno soave sonno, ne lo qual m'apparve una maravigliosa visione (Dante)
> (While thinking of her, a sweet dream overcame me, in which a wondrous vision appeared to me).

A dream (*sogno*) is usually "dreamt" (or one "has a dream," or one "sees in a dream"), while visions (*visioni*) are "seen," at times even while sleeping:

> Le figliuole vostre propheteranno; & i vostri vecchi sogneranno i sogni, & i vostri giovani vedranno le visioni (Marsilio Ficino)
> (Your daughters will prophesize; & your aged will dream dreams, & your youth will see visions).

Visione is either set in opposition to *sogno,* or it is differentiated from it. In old Italian usage, *visione* can be used in place of *sogno* in order to stress the truthfulness of that which is seen:[17]

> disse quello che Talano veduto avea dormendo non essere stato sogno ma visione (Boccaccio, *Decameron* 9.8)
> (he said that what Talano had seen while sleeping was not a dream but a vision)
>
> Questo io non so quello, che possa significare, ne se sia sogno, o visione (Dolce)
> (I do not know what this can signifiy, nor whether it be a dream or a vision)
>
> O che visione. Non è sogno, è oracolo: non è fantastico, è profetico (Fiamma)
> (O what a vision. It is not a dream, it is an oracle, it is not imagined, it is prophetic)
>
> Trovandovi piena di grand doglia, / E non mi sofferendo cosa, ond'io / Potessi aver materia di fermarvi / La visione mia, mi stetti cheta, / Temendo, che per sogno non aveste / Quel che vision era (Giraldi· Cinzio)

(Finding you full of great pain, while I was suffering nothing, for which I could have had grounds to confirm my vision, I remained quiet, fearing that while dreaming you were having a vision)

Quantunque molte volte i sogni de re sieno visioni, non seguita di necessità che sempre sieno visioni (Castelvetro)
(Although many times the dreams of kings are visions, it does not follow of necessity that they are always visions)

Egli imbrogliò talmente tutto ciò che diceva, che diede alla visione tutta la sembianza di un sogno (Francesco Maria Zanotti)
(He mixed up everything he said so much that he gave to the vision all the appearances of a dream)

Ve ne burlate? non avete letto quante volte le disavventure vicine si sono antivedute col mezzo delle visioni, e de' sogni? (Degli Oddi)
(Do you make fun of this? Have you not read how many times imminent misadventures are foreseen by means of visions and of dreams?)

Quivi Paolo ebbe un sogno, e in esso una visione da Dio (Cesari)
(Here Paul had a dream, and in it a vision from God).

Visione can also be synonymous with *sogno*:

Dice, che fu nell'aurora, per volere mostrare che cotale sogno era significativo del futuro vero, sopra il quale sogno, o vogli visione, egli fonda il suo trattato (Ottimo)
(He says that it occurred at dawn in order to demonstrate that that dream signified the true future, upon which dream, or, if you will, vision, he founds his treatise)

Orsù, pazienza: andiamo Mascheretta, eccovi terminata la mia visione o sogno, o quello che voi lo vogliate dire (Gaspare Gozzi)
(Come now, be still: let's go Mascheretta, here ends my vision or dream, or whatever you wish to call it).

Visioni (visions) appear during sleep:

Dormendo Apollonio e quel malandrino nel monastero, videro ciascuno una simile visione (Cavalca)
(While sleeping in the monastery, Apollonius and that brigand both had a similar vision)

la visione che apparisce ad Adone mentre dorme (Aprosio)
(the vision that appears to Adonis in his sleep)

Nulla mai visione nel sonno offerse / altrui sì vaghe imagini o sì belle/ come ora questa a lui, la qual gli aperse / i secreti del cielo e delle stelle (Tasso)

(Never before had a vision offered another during sleep such charming and beautiful images as this one now did to him; it opened to him the secrets of the sky and of the stars)

avendo / vegghiata una gran parte della notte, / alfin lunga stanchezza / recò negli occhi miei placido sonno, / e con quel sonno vision sì certa, / che di vegghiar dormendo avrei potuto dire (Guarini)

(having stayed awake for the better part of the night, in the end longstanding fatigue brought placid sleep to my eyes, and with that sleep a vision so true that I could say I was awake while sleeping)

Così adorando, si fue addormentata, / e dal cielo le venne in visione / un angiol, che le diè questa ambasciata (Antonio Pucci)

(while worshipping in this way, she fell asleep, and from heaven an angel came to her in a vision which brought her this message)

Discese il sonno: sorsero nell'alma / le visioni notturne (Cesarotti)

(Sleep descended: nocturnal visions arose in the soul).

A *visione* is that which is seen in a dream while sleeping:

Pognamo che sia un gran secco, com'egli è ora: e la luna, e le stelle, e gli elementi non sieno secondo natura in tal disposizione, che debbia piovere di qui ad un mese; ma Iddio, che puote tutto ciò, ch'e' vuole, per sua grazia e per gli prieghi d'alcune sante persone, voglia far piovere di qui a tre dì: e ciò riveli in sogno ad una buona persona, non per visione di piova o d'acqua, ma per alcuno contrario, come sarebbe, che quella cotale persona sognasse di ricogliere di terra tre manate di polvere secca, e di gittarle in alti (Passavanti)

(Let us assume that there is a major drought, as there is now: and the moon, the stars, and the elements are, according to nature, in such a configuration that it will not rain for another month; but all powerful and all willing God, through his grace and through the prayers of some holy persons, wishes to make it rain in three days; and this he would reveal in a dream to a good person, not through a vision of rain and water, but through some contrary image, as if that person were to dream of picking up three handfuls of dry dust, and of throwing it high into the air)

Ebbe un sogno, il quale insieme con una visione, che si apparve, viene raccontato da lui stesso, con solenne giuramento (Birago)

(He had a dream, which, together with a vision that appeared, he himself recounted with solemn oath)

Per sogno in visione notturna, quando il sonno viene addosso agli uomini, ed eglino dormono nel letticiuolo loro (Zanobi da Strata)

(Through dream in nocturnal vision, when sleep comes upon men as they lie asleep in their little beds).

The Latin Terminology and its Romance Derivatives

We must also consider specifically the Latin words *somnus, somnium* and *visio* insofar as they are antecedents of *sonno, sogno* and *visione*, in spite of the fact that the scope of *somnium* and its related terms is very complex and highly developed, as Macrobius, for example, attests: "Aut enim est *óneiros* secundum Graecos quod Latini somnium vocant, aut est *hórama* quod visio recte appellatur, aut est *chrēmatismós* quod oraculum nuncupatur, aut est *enýpnion* quod insomnium dicitur, aut est *phántasma* quod Cicero, quotiens opus hoc nomine fuit, visum vocavit" (Macrobius 1.3.2-3).[18] ("There is the enigmatic dream, in Greek *oneiros*, in Latin *somnium*; second, there is the prophetic vision, in Greek *horama*, in Latin *visio*; third, there is the oracular dream, in Greek *chrēmatismós*, in Latin *oraculum*; fourth, there is the nightmare, in Greek *phántasma*, which Cicero, when he has occasion to use the word, calls *visum*.") (87-88). Macrobius thus lists five Latin words that correspond to as many Greek words: *somnium, visio, oraculum, insomnium, visum*. But, if *somnium, visio, visus* can be a sign of future developments, in Latin other words are also used, such as *divinatio* (foreseeing), *vaticinatio* (foretelling), *praesagium* (presentiment), *prodigium* (portent) and others.

Somnus in Latin is also sleep personified and the god of sleep, that is the son of Erebus and Night. Like the Greek *hýpnos*, it derives from the Indoeuropean root *swep- (noun: *swep-no-s*, *swop-no-s*, *sup-no-s*), which designates sleep. Other Indoeuropean languages have terms that reflect notions such as 'to rest,' 'to be lazy,' 'to keep still,' 'the nodding of the head when one is falling asleep' (Buck 268-269). Furthermore, in Indoeuropean languages the word designating sleep can also be used to indicate dream, as in the Slavic languages: Serbian and Croatian *san* (sleep, dream). In general, 'to sleep' and 'sleep' have parallel signifiers, ones which derive from the same root, as, for example, the Gothic *slepan* (to sleep) and *sleps* (sleep). This is not so for Latin, which has *dormire* and *somnus*, nor for Greek, which has the verbs *katheydō* and *koimáomai* for 'to sleep,' but *hýpnos* for 'sleep.'

The Latin term *somnus*, beyond its usual meaning of 'sleep,' is at times used also for 'dream.' *Somnus*, which signifies both 'sleep' and 'dream,' has a Pan-Romance development: Italian *sonno*, Provençal *som*, old French *somme* (later substituted by *sommeil* from Latin *somniculus*, which is not attested by any text, but figures in the Tironian notes), Catalan *son*, Spanish *sueño*, Portuguese *somno*, Roumanian *somn*, Dalmatian *samno*, etc.[19] In the Italian dialects, especially the Southern ones, *sonno* maintains its meaning *sogno* (dream) (AIS). The Sardinian *sonnu*, used in Cagliari and

among the bourgeoisie of the towns with the meaning *sogno* (dream), is probably not a continuation of the Latin *somnus* but rather an imitation of the Italian *sonno* (sleep), which in Southern areas means both *sonno* and *sogno* (sleep and dream), given the isolation of the word, and the fact that in Sardinian dream is *bis'u*.[20]

A Latin derivative of *somnus*, of which it represents an extension, is *somnium* (It. *sogno*; dream), found also as *sonno* (sleep) (in Silius Italicus). The word is a Western Pan-Romance continuation (it is in fact absent in Roumanian): Italian *sogno*; Western Ladino *sömni, semmi*; French *songe*; Spanish *sueño*; Portuguese *sonho* (REW). In Gallo-Romance dialects *songe* and its variants mean "sleep" (hence the phrases *faire un songe*, 'to sleep,' *faire un soin*, 'to siesta'), which reflects the secondary meaning of the Latin *somnium* (FEW).

From the comparison of the Romance forms thus far considered, it is clear that in Spanish the term *sueño* corresponds to both 'sleep' and 'dream.' This is because the Latin cluster _mn_ , assimilating to _nn_, is then modified to _ñ_ (cf. other words such as *domnu* > *dueño, autumnu* > *otoño*). In the same way, the cluster _mni_ (like _nni_) gives _ñ_; thus, through a process of analogous phonetic evolution, the Latin words *somnus* and *somnium* give the same result, *sueño*, which covers both meanings, 'sleep' and 'dream' (García De Diego 121). One cannot, however, completely exclude the fact that this may be a matter of the continuation of one of the two Latin roots, considering that both Latin meanings are represented also in the old Italian *sonno* (sleep).

As for the Latin *visio*, _onis_ ? 'seeing', 'vision (abstract and concrete),' also 'point of view' (Greek *theōría*) ? it is a rare term pertaining to philosophical language, without a doubt created in order to translate the Greek *phantasía* and *phántasma* (Ernout and Meillet 733). Its Romance derivatives, like the Italian *visione* or the French *vision*, are in general learned terms (DEI). The Portuguese terms *avejão, vejão, visão* are considered popular continuations: "phantasma; entidade que se figura á imaginação popular; coisa sobrenatural, que se vê em espirito ou se suppõe ver pelos olhos; supposta imagem que se julga ver por sonho; ecc."[21] (phantasm; an entity of the popular imagination; supernatural being, manifested as a spirit or which supposedly can be apprehended by sight; an image supposedly seen in dreams; etc.) Instead, the Sardinian *vis'ione, bis'ione*[22] (It. *sogno* [dream]), with the verb *vis'ionare, vis'ionài* (It. *sognare* [to dream])—heard in certain localities—is not of purely popular derivation. According to the DES, it cannot directly reflect the Latin *visio* given that _si_ becomes _sꭲ_ in native words; it is, therefore, to be considered a learned word mediated by Italian.

The Roumanian *vis* (dream) (see Cioranescu 898), which derives from the Latin *visum* (vision, apparition in the concrete sense, dream), represents a continuation from Latin sources different from the ones mentioned thus far. In philosophical language it is a translation of the Greek *phantasía* (Ernout and Meillet 733). As already mentioned, in Roumania the Latin *somnium* does not continue.

The same Latin root *visum* is the origin of the Sardinian *bis'u, vis'u* (with the article *su is'u*, and the weakening and disappearance of the consonant in phonosyntactic position) and the verb *vis'are, vis'ai* (to dream) expressed also by the phrase *fai bis'us.*

Another signifier illustrating the preservation of the Latin is the Spanish *ensueño* (dream). It exists together with the above-mentioned *sueño*, and serves to break up the homonymy of *sueño* (sleep, dream). *Ensueño* continues the Latin *insomnium* (dream), formed from *somnium* as a calque of the Greek *enoy̆pnion* (dream) in order to obtain a word of a higher register compared to *somnium*, which was lowered through popular usage. The first example is in Virgil (*Aeneid* 4.9), and in prose it is not documented before Tacitus (Ibid., 635). In Latin *insomnium* has a rare, literary usage, but it is continued in the Romance languages not only by the Spanish *ensueño* but also by the Italian *insogno* (dream, vision) with variants like *insonio, insonnio.* It is a word of low register and more or less obsolete (although widely present in the dialects of northern and central Italy), even in contrast to *sogno* (dream), as the following passage illustrates: "Dovete intendere ancora che il sogno e lo insogno non è tutto uno, però che il sogno significa le cose future, che lo insogno quelle che sono presenti" (Gabriello Simeoni [GDLI]) (You should also understand that *sogno* and *insogno* are not one and the same, because *sogno* signifies future things, and *insogno* present ones.)

Romance Lexical Innovations
As far as the concepts being considered here are concerned, in particular those connected to *sonno* (sleep) and *sogno* (dream), the lexical innovations with respect to the Latin tradition offer numerous materials, traceable through lexicographical repertories and linguistic atlases, which increase when we dwell also on nuances of meaning relative to such aspects as the quality of sleep, the first phase of sleep etc. It will be sufficient to observe the data for Sardinian reported in the DES for the concept 'sleep.' Besides *sonnu*, other words such as the following also exist: *ciribecca*, used to refer rather to drowsiness (of uncertain etymology); *mas'edu* (literally 'tame,' 'domesticated' from the proper name Mansueto); *pìntsighe* (prevalent in

the northern Logudorese variety) with the verb *pintsulare* 'to doze,' 'to drowse,' 'to nod' (to be compared to the Corsican *pinciulà* 'to nod one's head from drowsiness'; in Italian *penzolare*); *surtu, sustu,* which, besides 'sleep,' refer to the parts into which sleep can be divided (thus a sleep can be *a unu surtu,* or *in duos* or *in tres surtos* according to fatigue or mental state, and is connected to the idea of a sudden awakening; etymologically it appears to derive from the Catalan *(en)surt* (start, jump). Briefly, ono-maturgy produces various results, even playful forms such as words of the following type found in Calabrese dialect to designate sleep: *zusaveru* or *zupàgulu* or *zupeppe,* personifications corresponding respectively to "zio Saverio, Paolo, Peppe" (Rohlfs 1977, *s.v.*) (uncle Saverius, Paul, Joe).

One of the most significant Romance innovations in the designations for dream is certainly the French *rêve,* as well as the variation *rêverie,* derived from the verb *rêver* (to dream). The etymological history of this lexical family is rather complex and has been interpreted in different ways. *Rêver,* attested as early as the twelfth century, equals 'to wander,' 'roam' until the fifteenth century, and 'to rave' until the eighteenth century; the modern sense appears clearly around 1670. *Rêverie,* documented around 1200 (whereas *rêve* is attested only later, in 1680), still stood for 'delirium' in the seventeenth century, but had its present meaning in Montaigne. A first etymology, proposed by Friedrich Diez (370), links these terms to the spoken Latin **rabia,* derived from the classical Latin *rabies,* but this hypothesis lacks credit. One must also think of the derivatives of *vagus* (wandering), *vagare* (to wander), such as **re-ex-vagare,* or rather of the Latin *evadere* (to escape), with the derivative *re-exvadare* (Schalk 9-38; Guiraud, *s.v.*).

Onomasiological and Semasiological Aspects
As far as the onomasiological aspect goes, the Romance terms that express the notions of sleep, dream, and vision are derivatives of Latin words (*som-nus, somnium* and *insomnium, visio*). They are generally widespread, but some words are limited to specific areas (for example, *visum,* which con-tinues in peripheral areas of Romance Europe such as Roumania and Sardinia). We have seen, moreover, that derivatives of *somnus* can designate both *sonno* (sleep) and *sogno* (dream). The same is true for the derivatives of *somnium,* as had occurred in Latin itself; thus it is not necessary to pre-suppose any metaphorical meanings. In Latin, *somnus,* besides indicating 'sleep,' is also the god of sleep and of *somnium* (dream), and hence *somni-um* itself.

Among the developments of a semasiological order—namely, the dif-ferent meanings that a word can assume—one should at least recall that in

various southern Italian dialects the lexeme *sonno* (sleep) means at the same time *sonno* and *sogno* (sleep, dream); but it is also the name corresponding to 'temple' (the region of the side of the head), considered to be the seat of sleep.[23] *Sonno* in the sense of 'sleep' and 'temple' is found in some of the dialects of Emilia, of the Veneto, and in certain limited areas of Piemonte (Cuneo, according to geolinguistic sources).[24] But in the latter, the dialectical form is *sogn*, i.e. a derivative of the Latin *somnium*, which, etymologically, reunites the two meanings 'dream' and 'sleep' (by contrast, in other areas it is the forms yielded by *somnus* that signify sleep and dream), with an interesting re-determination of gender: the masculine form of *sogn* signifies concrete concepts, i.e. 'dream' and 'temple,' while the feminine form signifies the abstract concept 'sleep.'[25]

The onomasiological reason for the above rests on the belief that the temple is the seat of sleep. This is confirmed, for example, by the fact that in the Italian dialects of the region of Emilia, the temple is called *dormitore* (cf. AIS, ALI). This is not an isolated case; in Latin itself, *sopor*—that which makes one fall asleep, sleep deified—also signifies the temples (Ernout and Meillet 635). This word is used mainly in a poetic sense, and this learned usage continues in the Romance languages. Other languages, even non-Indoeuropean ones, use the word meaning 'sleep' to indicate the temples. For example, in German *Schläfe* (temples), is the plural of *Schlaf* (sleep); in Basque *lu, lo* mean both 'sleep' and 'temple' (Frisk 20). The relationship between sleep and the temples recalls the representation of the Greek god Hypnos, a youth who walks with a light step and who has wings sprouting out of his temples.[26] Moreover, certain ointments used to induce sleep are spread on the temples. As Crescenzi prescribes (see above), the preparation is made with poppy seed: "A provocare il sonno facciasi impiastro dell'uno e dell'altro seme [di papavero bianco e nero], o dell'uno col latte della femmina e con albume dell'uovo intorno alle tempie" (2.308) (to induce sleep make a poultice around the temples of both seeds [black and white poppy], or of one of those with the milk of a woman and with egg white or with lettuce).[27] And Annibal Caro adds: "Il Sonno allora di leteo liquore / e di stigio veleno un ramo asperso / sovra gli scosse [a Palinuro] e l'una tempia e l'altra / gli spruzzò sì, che gli occhi ancor rubelli / gli strinse, gli gravò, gli chiuse alfine" (GDLI *s.v. sonno*). (Sleep then shook a branch besprinkled with lethean liquour and stygian poison over him [Palinurus], and he sprinkled one and the other temple, so that he pressed, weighed down, and finally closed his still rebellious eyes.)

Finally, remaining within the history of culture as it is reflected through language, one point has still to be made on the interesting ono-

masiological relationship that exists between *enrêve* (a dialectical variety of the French *rêve*) and the same name given to the yarrow in certain regions of France: the plant is so called in those areas because youths would place its leaves over their eyes before going to sleep in order to have sweet dreams. For the Romans (Beccaria, 98), the same plant symbolized sleep: many sarcophagi, the custodians of eternal sleep, are adorned with it.

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NOTES

[1]According to legend, Sleep allowed Endymion to sleep with his eyes open so that he could always see his beloved Selene; cf. in Italian *dormire ad occhi aperti* (literally, to sleep with one's eyes open or, in other words, to be dead tired).

[2]Galimberti, s.v. writes that "il termine investe un campo di significati che riguardano: 1) il funzionamento della *facoltà visiva*; 2) la *percezione visiva*, dove le informazioni raccolte dall'organo di senso vengono organizzate in campi e oggetti dotati di significato; 3) l'*allucinazione* che è una falsa percezione, involontaria e non criticata, che ha i caratteri della sensorialità e della proiezione spaziale; 4) l'*illusione* che è una distorsione della percezione dove stimoli sensoriali esterni si combinano con elementi riprodotti; 5) la *visione del mondo* che è il modo di concepire la realtà; 6) la *visione nell'accezione religiosa* di visione soprannaturale, profetica, mistica; 7) la *visione extrasensoriale* che è una percezione senza l'intervento della facoltà visiva. La polivalenza del termine dipende dall'ambiguità intrinseca allo statuto della visione a cui compete, oltre alla facoltà di osservare, verificare e constatare, anche l'incognita dell'inganno, dell'illusione della falsa percezione." (the term includes a range of meanings that concern: 1) the workings of the visual faculty; 2) visual perception, in which the information collected by the sense organ is organized into fields and objects endowed with meaning; 3) hallucination, which is a false perception, involuntary and uncriticized, which has sensory characteristics as well as characteristics of spatial projection; 4) illusion, which is a distortion of perception in which external sensorial stimuli are combined with reproduced elements; 5) a view of the world, which is the way of conceiving reality; 6) vision in the religious sense, which is a supernatural, prophetic, mystic vision; 7) extrasensory vision, which is perception without the intervention of the visual faculty. The polyvalence of the term depends on the intrinsic ambiguity of the vision to which it belongs, besides the faculty of observing and verifying the unknown connected with the deception or the illusion of false perception.)

[3]Lessico universale italiano (LUI).

[4]On the Romance languages see the dictionaries by Wartburg (referred to as FEW), Battisti and Alessio (DEI), Coelho, De Moraes Silva, García De Diego, and Cioranescu.

[5]Cf. the study by Cappello.

[6]Platina writes as follows: "[La lattuga] è un alimento che concilia il sonno" (86) ([lettuce] is a food that brings on sleep); "il papavero ... quello nero concilia il sonno" (71) (the black poppy ... brings on sleep); "L'uso eccessivo del porro provoca tuttavia mal di testa e insonnia" (70) (Excessive use of leeks causes headaches and insomnia); "[La fava] in qualsiasi modo la si mangi, il suo uso provoca insonia" (148) (No matter how they are eaten, [broad beans] cause insomnia). Similar information can be found in the seventeenth-century treatise by Pisanelli: "[la fava] fa venire sogni pieni di travaglio, e di perturbazione" (71) ([broad beans cause dreams full of anguish and perturbation); "[la lattuca] leva le vigilie" (41) ([lettuce] removes sleeplessness).

[7]The expression 'morto di sonno' (dying to sleep or dead tired), said of one who has a great desire to sleep, is also used, with ironic intent, as an injurious epithet for a person who is indolent and without vitality or will.

[8]Battaglia (referred to henceforth as GDLI), s.v.

[9]'ho sonno' (I am sleepy). Cf. *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz* (henceforth referred to as AIS), 4.1.643.

[10]Cf. the Sicilian forms 'li sónnira' (the temples) (sing. 'lu sónnu'); in San Biagio Platani, 'i suónnira' (sing. 'u suónnu'), in Catenanuova (AIS 100) formally corresponding to 'i sonni' (cf. below for *sonno* in the sense of 'temple').

[11]Rohlfs 1966, 39.

[12]Ibid., 36.

[13]The attestations are taken from GDLI.

[14]The 'primo sonno' is "la prima fase del riposo notturno molto leggero, tanto che da alcuni è considerato di transizione con la veglia" (GDLI) (the first, very light, phase of nocturnal sleep, so much so that some consider it to be a phase of transition with wakefulness, particularly in the expression 'nel' or 'sul primo sonno' [right after falling asleep]).

[15]In modern common usage, the term often has a negative connotation; the expression 'sono visioni!' (they are only visions!) suggests that one is daydreaming.

[16]Cf. also Schmitt 13 and *passim.* Unless otherwise specified, the citations that follow are taken from GDLI.

[17]Unless otherwise indicated, the references are from GDLI.

[18]Cited in Schalk 5.

[19]Meyer-Lübke (henceforth referred to as REW), s.v.

[20]Wagner (henceforth referred to as DES), s.v.

[21]Cf. Coelho and De Moraes Silva. Thanks go to Professor Josiah Blackmore for the translation of this passage.

[22]The voiced dental fricative is transcribed with _s'_ .

[23]Cf. Marcato; Cortelazzo and Marcato 408.

[24]*Atlante Linguistico Italiano* (henceforth ALI), No. 18 and AIS, No. 100.

[25]The same development is also found in other northern varieties, e.g. in Feltre in the Veneto region. Elsewhere, as in Friulian, the differentiation of gender does not imply the meaning 'temple' (which is designated by another lexeme), but only sleep (in the feminine) and dream (in the masculine); cf. Marcato. In the latter variety, the word siùm, literally 'sleep', is feminine when it refers to 'sonno,' 'bisogno di dormire" (sleep, the need to sleep) but masculine for "sonno, fatto fisico oggettivo," "sogno" [sleep, the objective physical fact, dream] (cf. Pirona *et al.*).

[26]Cf. "Hypnos," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, 4.62-63.

[27]The poultice with lettuce is mentioned above in the introduction to this paper.

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MAWY BOUCHARD

L'UNITÉ D'ACTION FACE À LA MODERNITÉ DE
GIRALDI CINZIO.
LE *DISCOURS SUR LA COMPOSITION DES ROMANTS*
(1554) ET LA TRADITION NARRATIVE FRANÇAISE

Quand on parle d'"influence', on présuppose une entité 'influente', notam-
ment, dans le cas que nous aborderons ici, l'Italie ou l'aristotélisme. Mais
que signifie l'"Italie pour la France ? L'aristotélisme' pour les différents
théoriciens ? La réponse peut varier selon l'époque, l'esthétique et l'idéolo-
gie. Il faudrait par conséquent être en mesure de définir ces notions, du
moins pour la période renaissante, et ce avant même de considérer celle
d'un éventuel 'italianisme' qui consisterait à adopter des caractéristiques
proprement 'italiennes'. La notion d'italianisme qui permet généralement
d'aborder les échanges culturels entre la France et l'Italie comporte en effet
plusieurs problèmes et se fonde sur des présupposés qui pourraient nous
induire en erreur. L'historiographie littéraire du début du XXᵉ siècle s'est
intéressée à ce qu'elle a elle-même qualifié d'"anti-italianisme' français et a
ainsi participé à l'essor d'une représentation de l'esprit pré-cartésien
français qui s'opposerait fermement à l'image d'une 'confusion' italienne
'pré-baroque' (Balsamo, Heller). Pour les Français du XVIᵉ siècle, l'Italie ce
serait ainsi le désordre, la confusion, l'emphase, l'exagération, l'excès tou-
jours déplacé; la France, l'ordre, la mesure, la retenue, la pureté. De ce
point de vue, la dite 'influence' italienne serait perçue comme un élément
nuisible au bon développement du rationalisme français; elle imposerait à
la culture française des fondements néfastes mais apparemment irré-
sistibles. Les théories sur la narration qui se développent au XVIᵉ siècle
peuvent nous aider à préciser toutes ces notions qui, sans un apport con-
ceptuel, risquent de demeurer floues ou tendancieuses. Ainsi, en posant le
problème plus spécifiquement en rapport avec le développement de la nar-
ration au XVIᵉ siècle, il sera possible d'identifier des caractéristiques dom-
inantes pour les deux cultures. En proposant d'autres bases théoriques que
celle de l'influence globale, telle l'étude comparée des conceptions narra-
tives du XVIᵉ siècle, on pourra dégager les traits dominants de chaque cul-

ture des stéréotypes esthétiques associés respectivement à l'Italie et à la France.

En effet, l'étude des échanges interculturels n'est pas seulement révélatrice du point de vue des 'ressemblances', marquées par l'influence de l'une ou l'autre des cultures. Elle l'est aussi, et peut-être davantage, sur le plan des différences, ce que Earl Miner a qualifié de 'preuve de l'étranger' en jouant sur le terme proposé par Antoine Berman (174). Comprendre qu'à un certain moment de son histoire, un pays, une institution ou un groupe d'auteurs rejettent certains éléments d'une culture, soit pour en imposer d'autres, soit tout simplement pour conserver des acquis qui seraient menacés, c'est aussi saisir les termes d'une opposition poétique, philosophique, voire théologique. Mais il faut se méfier des entités nationales porteuses de significations totalisantes. Il importe en tout cas d'en saisir la portée idéolo-gique ou politique, parfois insidieuse. Ainsi la question des genres narratifs, ne bénéficierait nullement, *a priori*, d'épithètes nationalisantes, à moins d'en préciser les différentes finalités éthiques ou ludiques, puisque celles-ci permettent d'établir, du moins au XVIᵉ siècle, des divisions et des rapprochements entre les deux cultures. Dans les pages qui suivent, il s'agira d'abord de distinguer les enjeux respectifs de la narration poétique française et italienne : l'une des traditions privilégie-t-elle une des trois finalités de la narration poétique ? L'imitation constitue-t-elle, plus que le *delectare* et le *docere*, un enjeu prédominant pour les auteurs français ou italiens? C'est par l'examen des propositions de Giraldi Cinzio, auteur et théoricien qui illustre bien, par ses positions, la difficulté de faire appel à des entités nationales porteuses de significations esthétiques ou morales univoques, que nous tenterons de préciser les enjeux rhétoriques de la narration française et italienne et, par le fait même, des notions somme toute obscures telles 'aristotélisme' et 'italianisme'.

Finalités rhétoriques comparées de la narration

Lorsqu'on compare l'art poétique italien à l'art poétique français, on attribue respectivement à l'une et à l'autre culture les deux finalités de l'agrément et de l'utilité. Cette généralisation n'est pas dénuée de pertinence. Il est vrai que la *Poétique* d'Aristote, qui circulait librement dès le début du XVIᵉ siècle, a pu permettre à certains auteurs, dans le nord de l'Italie, notamment à Padoue et à Ferrare, de s'émanciper des finalités d'écriture strictement chrétiennes, vouées à l'édification de la chrétienté, et de n'offrir leur art poétique qu'à la récréation et à l'agrément d'un auditoire prédéterminé. De ce point de vue, Giovambattista Giraldi Cinzio, auteur d'un traité sur l'art de composition du *romanzo* qui prône l'utilité chréti-

enne de la narration, ferait figure de marginal, en Italie, et s'inscrirait davantage dans la *doxa* poétique française, souvent qualifiée d''horacienne' (Weinberg 1961, 72), qui, elle, ne se familiarisera avec les théories aristotéliciennes que dans le dernier tiers du XVIᵉ siècle. Par ses conceptions narratives, Giraldi constitue un théoricien hybride, puisqu'il adopte une position 'moderniste' et chrétienne très courante en France, alors que ses efforts poétiques participent tout à fait à l'institution d'une hégémonie culturelle italienne. Si Giraldi n'est pas seul, même parmi les commentateurs italiens de la *Poétique*, à insister sur l'utilité morale et civile, il est un des rares, en Italie, à en faire la finalité première des nouvelles inventions — comédie, tragédie, satire, nouvelle et poème héroïque. Parallèlement à cette utilité poétique prônée par Giraldi, Robortello, Vida ou Minturno, l'agrément s'impose effectivement à tous comme un élément essentiel, voire prépondérant, de la poésie (Beltrán Almería 28).

Dans la seconde moitié du XVIᵉ siècle, en France, il devient extrêmement périlleux de proclamer de façon exclusive les finalités plaisantes de la narration. Si l'*Amadis de Gaule* traduit par Herberay des Essarts a connu un succès inouï auprès d'un vaste lectorat, au début des années 1540, en n'offrant à ses lecteurs français qu'un divertissement fondé accessoirement sur la promesse d'un exemple linguistique illustre[1], dès la fin de cette même décennie, la communauté des lettrés exige, en commençant par Herberay des Essarts lui-même, que les narrations en romant comportent un enseignement moral à la fois évident, convaincant et prédominant. Et ce devoir d'édification éthique sera revendiqué par les lettrés de plus en plus fermement, en France, pendant tout le XVIIᵉ siècle. Tout récit ne répondant qu'à la seule finalité de l'agrément sera en fait exclu de la République des lettres en train de se constituer. L'étude comparée de la théorie des genres narratifs, que l'on peut qualifier plus précisément, à la suite de François Lecercle, de 'politique des genres,' ou plus globalement encore, d''éthique' des genres, permet de brosser un tableau des différents problèmes et des questions que suscite la composition de narrations poétiques au XVIᵉ siècle.

Présence et absence de la Poétique *d'Aristote au XVIᵉ siècle*

La première publication d'un commentaire sur la *Poétique* d'Aristote, en France, date de 1560. Il s'agit d'une traduction mot à mot réalisée par Daniel D'Auge du texte italien d'Alessandro Lionardi, publié en 1554, à Venise (Gordon). Un fidéisme, prédominant en France, guidé notamment par Guillaume Budé qui déplore, en 1515, la trop grande importance que l'on accorde aux textes d'Aristote à l'Université, dévie vers l'Italie tout intérêt pour le corpus aristotélicien. Le nom d'Aristote n'est pas souvent

prononcé dans les cabinets humanistes français, et quand on le mentionne, ce n'est pas sans l'expression de certaines réserves. Ainsi Scaliger, l'illustre poéticien aristotélicien, se réfugie à Agen, en 1525, en prenant soin d'établir ses distances par rapport à Padoue, université qui constitue un puissant symbole de l'aristotélisme, mais surtout d'Averroès, son principal commentateur (Lardet). Scaliger accuse ses maîtres de Padoue d'être plus averroïstes qu'aristotéliciens. Lui, Scaliger, proposerait une lecture épurée et donc plus acceptable de la *Poétique* aristotélicienne.

Que signifie ce manque d'intérêt pour la *Poétique* d'Aristote? Ce n'est pas surtout en raison d'une mystérieuse disparition de la *Poétique* que les préceptes poétiques d'Aristote sont ignorés pendant le Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance, comme on pourrait le supposer. Le texte est après tout disponible sous forme de compilation. La présence et l'importance réduites de la poétique aristotélicienne devraient s'expliquer autrement que par sa rareté matérielle, puisque que l'on peut présumer que celle-ci est en fait prédéterminée par le contexte culturel lui-même. Il faut examiner les idées d'Aristote sur la poésie pour se rendre compte de leur incompatibilité idéologique avec les conceptions françaises d'une bonne partie du XVIᵉ siècle. En effet, les règles poétiques énoncées par Aristote présupposent l'existence d'une institution ou d'une discipline préoccupée par la définition de 'genres poétiques' étrangère à la pensée chrétienne médiévale, qui organise son savoir selon une axiologie du Vrai : c'est dire que le 'Faux' poétique ne constitue pas une catégorie en soi et ne se subdivise pas, par conséquent, en espèces.

Les premières lectures que l'on fait de la *Poétique* à la Renaissance sont d'ailleurs encore empreintes des fondements chrétiens. Ce qui semble intéresser en premier lieu les humanistes dans la *Poétique*, c'est la préoccupation téléologique d'Aristote : on cherche une exposition claire et détaillée des finalités de l'art en général, une réponse à la question problématique et incontournable au Moyen Âge: pourquoi écrire (Weinberg 1962, 288)? La lecture des humanistes du traité poétique fusionne des préceptes aussi bien platoniciens et horaciens qu'aristotéliciens. La *Poétique* d'Aristote devient, pour plusieurs théoriciens, la rationalisation on ne peut plus opportune du précepte horacien de l'utile agréable (Weinberg 1953, 99-100). On pourra proclamer la préséance de la poésie sur les autres formes d'expression en insistant sur cette double finalité qui lui serait exclusive.

Parallèlement à cette diffusion élargie des préceptes poétiques d'Aristote, s'organise en France, un mouvement contre la suprématie culturelle des Italiens actifs à la Cour, fomenté, il faut le dire, par le ressassement de déclarations percutantes, en l'occurrence celle de Pétrarque, qui fait de la France un pays de 'barbares'. Ailleurs, en Italie, certains poètes et théori-

ciens italiens s'activent, quant à eux, à donner des fondements théoriques aux narrations chevaleresques françaises, que l'on commence à qualifier, génériquement, de 'romants' et que l'on revendique comme l'ancêtre du 'romanzo' italien. Ce sont en effet des Italiens qui revendiquent d'abord l'héritage des grandes narrations 'françaises', ou si l'on veut, des narrations en 'romant'. Dans son *Discorso intorno al comporre dei romanzi*, publié à Venise, en 1554, Giraldi entreprend une réflexion sur les particularités du poème narratif moderne, laquelle allait susciter de vives réactions jusqu'à la fin du siècle et même au-delà. Résumées de façon très schématique, la position théorique de Giraldi revient à déclarer périmée la forme épique des Anciens, que ce soit celle d'Homère ou de Virgile. La forme épique des Anciens est morte, écrit Giraldi, mais le *romanzo* l'a glorieusement remplacée :

> Et je me laisse facilement convaincre que cette manière de composer des romants s'est substituée à celle des compositions héroïques des Grecs et des Latins, puisque, comme ceux qui mettaient par écrit les actions illustres et héroïques des chevaliers valeureux dans leur langue, ceux qui se sont mis à composer des romants traitent de matières fictives de chevaliers qu'on appelait 'errants'. (Giraldi 1973, 47; Rasi 73-74)[2]

La tradition narrative médiévale, que l'on évoque très rarement en France dans la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle, serait, selon Giovambattista Giraldi, le modèle de Boiardo et de l'Arioste. Si Giraldi n'adhère pas tout à fait à l'étymologie française du mot *romant*, il revendique lui aussi le modèle chevaleresque, tout en soulignant l'apport extraordinaire des Italiens au modèle d'origine française et espagnole, notamment en ce qui concerne l'utilisation du vers au lieu de la prose et la division en chants :

> Des Français, cette manière de poétiser est ensuite passée aux Espagnols, puis ultimement a été reçue par les Italiens qui, parmi les meilleurs auteurs, au contraire des autres nations qui ont écrit leurs compositions en prose, ont composé les leurs en vers. De sorte que, où ceux-là divisaient leurs œuvres en livres, ceux-ci les ont divisés en chants. (Giraldi 47-48)

La conception giraldienne du 'romanzo' qui constitue à la fois le fleuron de la littérature italienne et l'héritier de la tradition chevaleresque française, ne tient pas compte de l'urgence, pour la politique et la culture italiennes, d'établir l'identité distincte des grandes réalisations poétiques italiennes, ce dont se chargent cependant tous poéticiens aristotéliciens. Cette 'négligence' compromet *a priori* la réception de sa théorie.

Giraldi Cinzio, beaucoup moins connu aujourd'hui qu'il ne l'a été de son vivant, en France et en Italie, a pu voir ses théories diffusées partout en Italie, grâce surtout à l'importance qu'il avait à l'Université de Ferrare, où

il a occupé, pendant plus de vingt ans, les chaires de philosophie et de rhé-
torique. L'intérêt fondamental de ce traité, pour la critique littéraire de la
Renaissance, réside dans son appel à la 'modernité', soit sa proposition
théorique de l'"efficacité" poétique, qui subordonne clairement l'agrément
de la poésie à l'utilité civile et spirituelle, selon des paramètres chrétiens, et
confère ainsi aux compositions narratives modernes un plus grand degré de
convenance qu'aux récits poétiques des Anciens:

> Non seulement le sujet doit être considéré et choisi parmi plusieurs
> autres, mais il faut encore accorder une attention particulière aux circon-
> stances, outre l'utilité qu'il doit posséder en soi, qui le peuvent embellir
> et faire plaisir à toutes sortes de personnes. Et cela les deux poètes dont
> nous avons parlé précédemment l'ont réalisé avec un grand savoir-faire,
> puisque, en plus d'avoir choisi des actions illustres et adaptées aux mœurs
> honnêtes, ils ont recouvert l'ensemble de leur composition d'un orne-
> ment qui a su plaire à tous les lecteurs. Et cet élément fut (en plus des
> éléments délectables usuels dispersés dans leurs compositions) la religion
> et le fait de provoquer des conflits entre les chrétiens et leurs ennemis,
> chose qui suscite une attention considérable et fait en sorte que le lecteur
> se réjouisse des événements heureux qui concernent les gens de sa propre
> foi, puis se désole des circonstances adverses. (Giraldi 50)

Moins qu'une théorie 'énumérative' (Lecercle 72), très courante en
France au XVIe siècle, moins qu'une théorie programmatique et 'combina-
toire' sur ce que devrait être le poème héroïque italien, comme celles de
Robortello, Trissino et Scaliger, Giraldi propose une véritable réflexion sur
la pertinence spécifique de la poésie dans un contexte chrétien moderne. Et
pour Giraldi, le but fort louable de la poésie est de rendre les questions
éthiques — politiques, économiques et morales chrétiennes — accessibles
à tous, dans un style à la fois clair, agréable et adapté au plus grand nom-
bre (Rasi 276-277, Piéjus 305): "Il faut que le sujet soit tel que le poète
puisse le traiter honorablement, qu'il soit apte à recevoir les ornements
poétiques et puisse plaire en toute circonstance, non seulement aux doctes,
mais encore à tous les hommes qui comprennent la langue du poète"
(Giraldi 50). Dans un débat qui allait se polariser sur deux positions récur-
rentes dans l'historiographie littéraire, celles des Anciens et des Modernes,
Giraldi assume donc la position de Moderne (Guerrieri Crocetti).

L'unité d'action aristotélicienne contre la 'modernité'

Qu'elles servent directement ou non à l'argumentation des théoriciens, les
positions d'Aristote sur la poésie en général et sur l'épopée en particulier
font toujours partie des discussions théoriques: on défend *et* on condamne

la composition héroïque de l'Arioste en se fondant sur les préceptes aristo-téliciens. C'est donc à juste titre que Luce Giard propose l'expression de 'pluriel aristotélicien' pour le XVIᵉ siècle et que Bernard Weinberg évoque, quant à lui, le 'pseudo-aristotélisme' français et italien (Giard 282, Weinberg 1953). Non seulement fait-on une lecture fragmentaire d'Aristote, c'est-à-dire qu'on ne le lit pas en tant que système homogène, mais on transforme considérablement les finalités du texte poétique. Pour Aristote, c'est la catégorie ou le genre poétique lui-même qui détermine les critères de sa composition, alors que pour tous les théoriciens de la Renaissance, c'est en fait l'auditoire qui détermine les éléments narratifs propices à l'effet poétique. Mais Aristote est indispensable aux poètes et aux théoriciens. Il ne fait pas que fournir quelques règles de composition, comme Horace l'avait fait, il répond surtout à la question fondamentale déjà évoquée du 'pourquoi.' Pourquoi le poète aurait-il une valeur pour la société ? Aristote, tel qu'on le lit à la Renaissance, répond à la question de façon convaincante et 'rationnelle', c'est-à-dire avec autorité.

Mais indépendamment de cette lecture plurielle de la *Poétique*, un élément en particulier est constamment repris par les théoriciens : il s'agit de l'unité d'action'. Soit que l'on y adhère absolument — c'est le cas, dans ce débat, de ceux qui défendent la théorie des Anciens — soit, au contraire, qu'on la rejette, avec force explications et nuances — c'est le cas des Modernes. Dans son *Discours sur la composition des romants*, Giraldi veut montrer que l''unité' d'action appartient à une autre époque, à une époque qu'il appelle sans ambages 'païenne'. La multiplicité d'actions dans le *Roland furieux* de l'Arioste n'est donc pas un défaut, comme le suppose la plupart de ses contemporains, théoriciens et critiques ; c'est au contraire l'application géniale de nouveaux critères poétiques aux nouvelles réalités chrétiennes (Giraldi 50). Depuis l'avènement du christianisme, en effet, l'écriture ne vise plus spécifiquement un auditoire lettré et homogène; l'écriture s'adresse à tous et fait par conséquent appel à la notion de variété[3]. Ainsi, l'unité d'action, et peut-être même l'unité tout court, constitue, pour Giraldi, une notion païenne, étrangère et distincte de la notion 'chrétienne' de diversité, le christianisme ne servant ici qu'à désigner une culture moderne distincte de celle des Anciens (Rasi 81). Contrairement aux théoriciens qui prônent le modèle d'Homère et de Virgile et qui défendent une conception essentialiste de l'art qui, au même titre que la Nature serait Un et éternel, les Modernes tels Giraldi évoquent plutôt le caractère changeant, instable et évolutif de l'art et de la Nature[4].

Les compositions narratives modernes ne ressemblent pas aux épopées d'Homère et de Virgile, et pour cause. Pourquoi en fait devraient-elles leur

ressembler? Mais la théorie giraldienne est tout à fait inconvenante dans le contexte hégémonique italien des années 1550, où l'on cherche à édifier la grandeur du vernaculaire italien sur l'héritage prestigieux des Anciens. Ce que propose Giraldi pour la narration italienne — l'adoption de l'héritage français et espagnol — a beau être sensé, le théoricien n'"est pas dans le vrai", ses idées ne sont pas recevables pour la communauté des lettrés: on ne doit pas remettre en cause la valeur symbolique et fondatrice de la civilisation romaine[5]. Simple coïncidence ou relation de cause à effet, Giraldi a connu une dramatique descente aux enfers peu après la publication de ses *Discorsi* de 1554, puisqu'il perd son poste de professeur et ses charges de précepteur, qu'il avait conservées pendant toutes ces années grâce à la protection du duc de Ferrare. Avatar de la querelle cicéronienne, la 'querelle des genres' en Italie repose sur les oppositions essentialiste païenne et historique chrétienne. Giraldi n'est pas loin, dans ses revendications, des positions d'Érasme et de Budé, qui rejetaient tous deux le modèle absolu de Cicéron.

Decorum *et modernité*

La notion de *decorum* constitue le cœur de plusieurs réflexions rhétoriques et poétiques à la Renaissance. C'est à partir de cette notion rhétorique cicéronienne que les Modernes revendiquent un droit à l'écriture: pour être compris, tout énoncé (notamment un texte ancien) doit être clairement lié à son contexte d'énonciation. Chaque époque doit par conséquent produire ses propres textes et ses propres canons. Dans son traité sur la composition des 'romants', Giraldi ne dit pas autre chose. Il fait du principe de *decorum* le fondement même de l'écriture poétique et finalement de tout texte 'éloquent'. C'est même par l'entremise de cette notion que Giraldi entend 'prouver' la supériorité des poètes italiens, Boiardo et l'Arioste. Giraldi explique en effet aux adeptes de la poétique aristotélicienne qui prône avant tout une conformité face aux grands modèles, que Boiardo et l'Arioste ont réussi les premiers véritables poèmes héroïques modernes comparables aux chefs-d'œuvre d'Homère et de Virgile, justement en ne les imitant pas : "Et encore que cette composition ne soit acceptée ni des Grecs ni des Latins, elle a cependant admirablement réussi dans notre langue, les excellents auteurs de cette sorte de composition lui ayant donné la même autorité que les deux écrivains déjà mentionnés [Virgile et Homère] donnèrent aux leurs [langues]" (Giraldi 51). Contrairement à ce que l'on a pu affirmer, il n'est pas du tout évident que Giraldi rejette le 'modèle' de Boiardo et de l'Arioste qui serait devenu "trop vulgaire" (Rasi 279). Pour Giraldi, il n'existe justement pas de modèle absolu qu'il faille imiter. Boiardo et l'Arioste ont cependant établi pour la narration un principe

convaincant que Giraldi revendique et propose aux nouveaux auteurs: le *decorum*. La forme d'un poème ne peut jamais être prédéterminée par des règles fixes. Il est vrai toutefois, comme le propose Donatella Rasi (279), qu'à l'époque de la Contre-Réforme, les lecteurs (comme les censeurs) exigent un fondement historique à la fois véritable et pertinent pour la société chrétienne moderne. Ainsi les narrations de Boiardo et de l'Arioste ne semblent déjà plus aussi appropriées qu'auparavant (Maestri 207).

Aristote constitue l'autorité indispensable qui permet à tous les humanistes d'établir les fondements 'rationnels' de la discipline poétique, tout en la distinguant de disciplines rivales, telles la philosophie et l'histoire. Mais rares sont les théoriciens et les critiques qui revendiquent la *Poétique* d'Aristote en bloc. Giraldi, par exemple, s'appuie sur Aristote pour établir une distinction entre la philosophie, l'histoire et la poésie, mais il le fait sur une toute autre base qu'Aristote. Pour Giraldi, la poésie ne raconte pas ce qui 'est' ni même ce qui 'a été,' mais plutôt ce qui 'devrait' être. Alors qu'Aristote évoque plutôt le probable et le possible — la poésie décrivant ce qui 'pourrait' advenir — Giraldi invoque, quant à lui, la nécessité morale. Ainsi, la narration poétique, selon Giraldi, emprunte intégralement sa méthode de composition à la rhétorique et se compare aisément au genre délibératif. Son modèle de composition n'est pas l'épopée et ses ressorts périmés. L'imitation et l'agrément poétique propres à la narration et indispensables à tout récit demeurent, pour Giraldi, des instruments de l'édification et ne constituent pas des fins en soi.

Si Giraldi défend l'Arioste en promouvant la diversité, il trouve peu d'appui dans l'Italie du XVIe siècle, tout absorbée par la *Poétique* d'Aristote et par le principe d'unité d'action. L'Italie du XVIe siècle n'est donc pas réductible au modèle de l'Arioste, que plusieurs théoriciens déclassent tout simplement des grandes catégories poétiques. C'est pourtant ce modèle que Ronsard, notamment, voudra associer à la poésie héroïque italienne et dont il voudra se dissocier avec sa *Franciade*, première tentative française de reproduire les modèles épiques grecs et latins. Mais, comme on l'a vu, le discours poétique italien de la Renaissance se constitue à partir de la poétique aristotélicienne et rejette, avant la France, la multiplicité d'actions propre aux narrations des poètes modernes. Ronsard effectue une permutation d'identité culturelle, puisqu'il s'associe au courant théorique dominant en Italie et revendique pour la France et lui-même le renouveau des conceptions aristotéliciennes tout en confinant l'Italie au modèle ariostien pourtant rejeté par la majorité des théoriciens italiens.

Lorsque le Tasse propose sa *Jérusalem délivrée*, fondée sur le modèle des Anciens et fidèle à l'enseignement d'Aristote, la péninsule italienne

peut proclamer sa supériorité sur les grands modèles classiques sans pour cela devoir évoquer les noms néanmoins célèbres de Dante, Boccace, Pétrarque et l'Arioste, auteurs non conformes de narrations héroïques. Mais pour Ronsard, l'Italie restera associée à l'Arioste, symbole de la démesure et de la confusion. Pour Giraldi, qui s'appuie sur la tradition romanesque française, le 'roman moderne' ne doit pas être une imitation en bonne et due forme de l'épopée homérique et virgilienne, mais au contraire une actualisation de son principe vital de l'unité d'action, devenu, dans un contexte chrétien ('universel'), inapproprié. Boiardo et l'Arioste brisent délibérément cette unité païenne, argumente Giraldi, pour satisfaire aux exigences d'un public divers dans ses attentes et sa formation. Ainsi donc, l'anti-italianisme français de la fin du XVIᵉ siècle ne constitue pas une lutte contre l'aristotélisme poétique triomphant des auteurs italiens, au contraire. Le combat culturel anti-italien, qui comporte plusieurs motivations socioéconomiques complètement étrangères à la poétique, s'en prend néanmoins à des symboles esthétiques puissants dans l'imaginaire de l'époque, et ce malgré leur écart évident avec les pratiques réelles et dominantes.

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NOTES

[1]Présupposant l'attrait indiscutable des narrations chevaleresques pour son public, le traducteur de l'*Amadis* tente de promouvoir une langue française 'moderne' et 'correcte', tout en mettant en évidence l'"archaïsme' des premières narrations en *romant*: "Parquoi, pour aucunement vous être en aide, faisant le deu de mon art, je vous ai voulu imprimer les Livres d'Amadis de Gaule: équels, par la confession de tous ceux qui les ont leus, est l'élégance, douceur & facilité du langage François autant bien comprinse qu'en livres quelconques qui ayent esté encores mis en lumière", préface "A tous ceux qui font profession d'enseigner la langue française en la ville d'Angers", *Le premier livre d'Amadis de Gaule*, 2.502 ("Annexes").

[2]Il s'agit de ma traduction du texte de Giraldi. L'édition de référence est celle de Guerrieri Crocetti.

[3]Je me trouve ici en désaccord avec la thèse proposée par Guerrieri Crocetti en 1932 selon laquelle Giraldi élabore une "poésie de classe".

[4]Voir l'exorde de Giraldi dans *Gli Ecatommiti*.

[5]Comme le souligne D. Rasi (80), la stabilité politique du duché de Ferrare est très fragile: toute initiative littéraire doit tenter, dans le contexte ferrarais du

XVIᵉ siècle, de préserver l'équilibre entre les pressions qui viennent du pape et celles qui émergent de l'empire.

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GIAN GIACOMO COLLI

METTERE IN SCENA TASSO OGGI:
L'*AMINTA* TRA FILOLOGIA LETTERARIA E
INTERPRETAZIONE REGISTICA

Le note di regia che spesso compaiono in un programma di sala hanno soli-
tamente la funzione di integrare l'esperienza che lo spettatore ha dello spet-
tacolo cui le note si riferiscono. Personalmente, mi riferisco al mio lavoro
come regista, ho sempre guardato a questo genere di note con una certa dif-
fidenza, riscontrandovi il tentativo sommario di spiegare in un testo a
stampa quello che lo spettacolo, per sua intrinseca natura, dovrebbe comu-
nicare da sé, con la peculiarità dei suoi mezzi. Le osservazioni che seguono,
pur facendo riferimento alla messinscena dell'*Aminta* da me diretta nel
2001 al Robert Gill Theatre di Toronto, co-prodotta dal Graduate Centre
for Study of Drama della University of Toronto e dalla Poculi Ludique
Societas[1], non sono quindi delle note di regia, ma un ripensamento, per
così dire, a posteriori, sulle letture che la produzione teatrale di un classi-
co, quale il testo di Tasso è unanimamente riconosciuto, oggi sollecita. Si
tratta, in sostanza, di alcuni suggerimenti di carattere metodologico su
come trasferire tali letture alla tridimensionalità d'uno spettacolo moderno
che non si affidi a sterili attualizzazioni di superficie. In questo senso, e
senza alcuna pretesa di novità critica, l'originalità dell'assunto va indivi-
duata nell'ipotesi che l'incontro fra indagine letteraria, ricerca storico-
teatrale e interpretazione registica sia non solo utile ma indispensabile.

Tra i più noti giudizi critici sull'*Aminta* spicca per sintesi ed efficacia
quello di Carducci, che la definì un "portento" (1). Al di là della citazione,
che ha qui più il valore dell'aneddoto, è indiscutibile che la *favola boscherec-
cia* del Tasso abbia avuto un'importanza cruciale nel consacrare il genere
del dramma pastorale nel contesto della letteratura italiana e non solo. È
inoltre acquisizione critica ormai consolidata il fatto che l'*Aminta* sia un
testo nato per la messinscena, espressione pratica e concreta di un modo di
scrivere che assurge a modello. Da questo punto di vista, l'indagine critico-
letteraria e la ricerca storico-teatrale che hanno avuto come oggetto
l'*Aminta* si sono, da circa vent'anni a questa parte, incrociate, in un proces-
so di reciproca e positiva contaminazione da cui è emersa soprattutto la

funzionalità del testo di Tasso rispetto ad un contesto rappresentativo, vale a dire il pubblico delle corti, in cui si muovono i professionisti della commedia dell'arte e che vede anche gli albori del melodramma[2]. Ciononostante, permane il rischio, da cui confesso di non essere stato esente, di privilegiare l'importanza del testo scritto e di rimanere fedeli al giudizio canonico che, trascurando gli aspetti performativi, lega il valore dell'*Aminta* alla sua influenza sui successivi sviluppi della poesia italiana; e in effetti, a una prima lettura, per quanto attenta, la poesia dell'*Aminta* risulta di una seducente bellezza, ma restia alla messinscena, a meno che non se ne rivelino le nascoste dinamiche teatrali. Nel superare questo scoglio, nel riconoscere la specificità teatrale, nel senso proprio della tecnica rappresentativa che il dramma pastorale del Tasso porta con sé, dalle strutture linguistiche e del testo nel suo complesso fino a quelle estetiche ed ideologiche in senso lato, risiede il primo e forse più importante passo di avvicinamento ad una messinscena dell'*Aminta* oggi, in cui il regista non si affidi semplicemente alla purezza della parola poetica. Questo non toglie che una semplice lettura pubblica del testo a più voci, anche se priva dell'elemento spettacolare in senso aristotelico, possa avere una sua validità.

Se si vuole mettere in scena un testo teatrale logica vuole che per prima cosa lo si legga. Dietro questa banale ovvietà si cela un interrogativo fondamentale: quale testo leggere? Non mi riferisco naturalmente alla scelta di questo o quel titolo, ma all'edizione del testo che la critica letteraria considera non solo come autentica, questo va da sé, ma soprattutto come la più compiuta e corretta. Nell'affrontare testi classici come l'*Aminta*, infatti, il regista non può prescindere, almeno inizialmente, da quello che la filologia letteraria gli offre, con l'accortezza di non accoglierne le conclusioni in maniera definitiva, ma adottando un atteggiamento fluido.

Nella preparazione dello spettacolo, il mio primo impatto con il testo di Tasso è stato con la versione pubblicata nella Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli con introduzione di Mario Fubini, che si attiene all'edizione critica di Bartolo Tommaso Sozzi del 1957. Questa si differenzia dall'altra edizione fondamentale, quella di Angelo Solerti del 1895, soprattutto per il mancato inserimento dell'*Epilogo di Venere* e degli *Intermedi*, che Sozzi restituisce alle *Rime*[3]. A parte questo dato filologico, su cui si tornerà in seguito, ma che già può spiegare perché si debba parlare di atteggiamento fluido da parte del regista, la lettura dell'*Aminta* con cui è iniziata la preparazione dello spettacolo non era aliena da influenze critiche. Nella mia memoria era infatti ancora vivo il ricordo del corso di Letteratura Italiana di Riccardo Scrivano da me frequentato all'Università di Roma nel 1980/81, che ebbe come tema proprio il teatro del Cinquecento. In

qualche maniera, tra la mia prima lettura e il testo si era già frapposta una visione critica che, sullo sfondo della dimensione teatrale che caratterizza la *Gerusalemme Liberata* e, più in generale, il Rinascimento, aveva evidenziato la dinamicità dello scrittura del Tasso. Un approccio stimolante, se visto nella prospettiva di una messinscena teatrale, e forse proprio per questa ragione è più corretto definire la mia prima lettura come una rilettura motivata da una duplice intenzione: rinfrescare la memoria di un testo studiato vent'anni prima a livello puramente letterario e rintracciare quella che Scrivano definisce "attitudine tassesca alla teatralità" (223). L'impressione, come già accennato, è stata quella di trovarsi di fronte a qualcosa di poeticamente formidabile, indubbiamente teatrale dal punto di vista della categoria letteraria, ma ostico alla rappresentazione se rapportato ai criteri scenici di oggi. È Scrivano stesso, implicitamente, ad indicare questa prospettiva quando precisa che l'attitudine di Tasso alla teatralità va cercata "in direzioni che non siano quelle dell'azione scenica come movimento, né della riproduzione in scena di accadimenti e neppure della gestualità che accompagni, non si dice azioni che in scena non si vedono, ma neppure quello che dalla scena promana, che è il racconto di cose avvenute altrove" (223). Sembra che al testo, per quanto teatralmente valido sulla pagina scritta, non corrisponda necessariamente un livello performativo altrettanto valido o, comunque, rapportabile a un'idea di teatralità in cui le azioni si sviluppino concretamente sulla scena. La contraddizione, del tutto apparente, può erroneamente condurre il regista a fare uso di termini quali *teatrale* o *teatralità* senza rendersi conto che li sta applicando a categorie diverse: quella relativa al testo letterario, fissa, anche se magari frutto di analisi o teorie diverse, e quella relativa al testo-spettacolo, che agisce in un ambito più variabile e complesso del testo scritto.

Questo, per quanto riguarda la messinscena di testi classici, è un punto cruciale, che sembra mettere l'interpretazione registica di fronte ad un bivio: mantenersi il più possibile fedele alla lezione della filologia letteraria, proponendo magari al pubblico quella semplice lettura del testo a più voci cui ho accennato in precedenza, o imporre una visione spettacolare in cui il testo letterario, nel migliore dei casi, sopravvive come pretesto, nel senso di scusante, di lusso per qualsivoglia motivazione estetica od ideologica. Il che, tradotto in pratica, significa accettare la teatralità del testo scritto o sovrapporgliene un'altra. Entrambe le soluzioni trascurano però un aspetto essenziale, e cioè che anche la parola di testi come l'*Aminta*, ma si può tranquillamente risalire ai classici greci, è parola teatrale nel senso che — mi rifaccio qui a un saggio di Domenico Pietropaolo su "Regia e filologia negli studi teatrali" — "è stata scritta per essere pronunciata ed agita, sul pal-

coscenico, nel contesto di una forma pluridimensionale di comunicazione, e all'interno di una visione estetica ed ideologica unitaria, da cui acquista dimensioni semantiche che il solo testo non le può assolutamente dare" (1492).

In altri termini, collocato nel contesto della sua epoca, il testo letterario dell'*Aminta* dà origine a un testo-spettacolo nel quale la parola scritta acquista significati di cui le edizioni critiche di oggi non possono rendere conto. Questo, di riflesso, non significa che il regista debba disconoscere le edizioni critiche del testo. Come è stato detto all'inizio, l'interpretazione registica deve mantenere un atteggiamento fluido: "Se il dramma è una delle tecniche della letteratura," ha sintetizzato Fabrizio Cruciani in un saggio sulla prima probabile rappresentazione dell'*Aminta* nel 1573, "è anche vero che il testo drammatico è una delle tecniche del teatro" (183)[4]. Dal riconoscimento di questa tensione fra dramma e testo drammatico il regista deve trarre il massimo beneficio e procedere ad una seconda lettura, fisiologicamente diversa dalla prima. In termini concreti significa ascoltare il testo mentre lo si legge, immaginarlo parlato da attori in carne e ossa, e iniziare a verificare se il dramma sia efficace in termini di spettacolo.

In un saggio del 1990 dal titolo esplicito "La teatralità dell'*Aminta*," Franco Croce sottolinea come il Tasso abbia fatto uso del modulo della narrazione non perché non potesse permettersi altre formule, ma perché da quella formula "ricavava effetti teatrali particolari che erano in accordo con la sua interpretazione del rapporto fra lo scenario pastorale e il mondo degli spettatori" (134). Si pensi, ad esempio, al gioco di specchi fra i personaggi della vicenda e la realtà dell corte: Tirsi è il Tasso stesso; Elpino è il Pigna, una figura della corte e della letteratura ferrarese; nell'episodio di Mopso viene criticato Sperone Speroni e celebrato il duca Alfonso; nei riferimenti a Licori si riconosce la Lucrezia Bendidio, e via dicendo. L'interpretazione registica non può non tenere conto di questa referenzialità che per il pubblico di allora significava qualcosa di radicalmente diverso da quella che oggi definiamo identificazione tra spettatore e personaggio. Si trattava di una forma di complicità in cui all'identificazione di valore empatico si sostituiva il piacere di riconoscere nei personaggi sulla scena degli individui appartenenti alla realtà, una realtà, oggi, palese solo ad uno spettatore decisamente colto, per non dire altamente specializzato.

Una prospettiva simile, ma più approfondita a livello di ricerca storico-teatrale, è sviluppata in uno studio ancora più recente da Maria Galli Stampino, la quale mette in relazione la qualità retorica del testo — la sua funzione di persuasione, di edificazione, che lo colloca in quella specifica forma della retorica che Aristotele definisce *epidittica* — con il fatto che

Tasso scrive per uno specifico tipo di pubblico (38). Lo spettacolo, infatti, viene messo in scena nel corso di particolari occasioni festive, in cui la corte riflette sui propri ideali e, allo stesso tempo, si mostra a se stessa, come detto in precedenza, e in pubblico.

Già da questi due esempi si può capire come la scarsa rappresentabilità oggi attribuibile all'*Aminta* non sia assolutamente una proprietà del testo originale, ma derivi dal fatto che le tecniche teatrali di cui il testo originale è impregnato riflettono i criteri estetici e i valori ideologici di chi scrive, il Tasso, e del destinatario della scrittura, la corte estense. Nel momento in cui queste qualità si confrontano con i criteri e i valori contemporanei al regista che mette in scena il testo, il rischio è che perdano di significato. Per evitare questo rischio, l'interpretazione registica deve essere in grado di leggere non solo le parole, ma anche quelle componenti che non necessariamente emergono dal testo a stampa che la filologia ci offre, anzi, il più delle volte, nel caso di testi classici, non emergono affatto.

In pratica, come propone la Stampino, si tratta di tentare una "reconstruction" (36-37), che però non ha alcuna pretesa archeologica, del testo letterario in quanto origine di eventi culturali complessi, come storicamente le produzioni rinascimentali dell'*Aminta* di cui si ha notizia sono state. Spettacoli in cui possono convivere o alternarsi retorica, dizione poetica, parola cantata, e quindi anche musica, danza e, forse, lazzo, considerando che l'*Aminta* fu presumibilmente messa in scena per la prima volta nel 1573 da una compagnia di comici dell'arte: i Gelosi, o forse la compagnia di un tale Stefanello Bottarga, come una recente scoperta sembra dimostrare[5].

Volendo procedere in questa direzione di ricostruzione del testo-spettacolo — intendendo, va sottolineato, il testo come fonte di un evento culturale, non solo come dato letterario — la lettura registica si fa più complessa in quanto si devono individuare quegli aspetti che vanno oltre l'autore e che riflettono teorie, metodi, tecniche in senso stretto che appartengono al teatro italiano del Rinascimento. La lettura è più complessa in quanto il teatro contemporaneo, lavorando con tecniche sostanzialmente diverse, può giudicare questi aspetti, ben noti alla critica letteraria così come alla storiografia teatrale, come datati e trascurarli. In realtà è opportuno riconsiderarli, almeno in parte, per capire che livello di tensione espressiva si possa stabilire con i criteri estetici e produttivi di oggi.

Un primo aspetto, il più macroscopico, è che Tasso scrive con rigoroso rispetto delle unità aristoteliche. Tale costrizione, nel caso dello spazio, non va vista come un ostacolo. Giovanni Attolini, nel suo volume su *Teatro e spettacolo nel Rinascimento*, basandosi su sei incisioni che completano l'edi-

zione dell'*Aminta* pubblicata nel 1583[6], puntualizza come la scenografia di quel primo ipotetico spettacolo dovesse essere molto complessa, come se ogni atto avesse avuto una scenografia diversa (140). Le varie illustrazioni, a parte essere accomunate da una comune visione prospettica con un sentiero centrale che ricorda le celebri illustrazioni di Sebastiano Serlio del 1545 — la scena satirica, che è la più inerente alla pastorale, la scena comica e quella tragica — potrebbero però, ad un occhio contemporaneo, essere viste anche come inquadrature cinematografiche diverse di un medesimo luogo. Questa soluzione, in campo teatrale, è stata perseguita da Giorgio Strehler — ed è forse l'esempio più significativo — con l'allestimento di spazi teatrali mutevoli, dove il pubblico aveva la possibilità di osservare lo stesso luogo da punti di vista diversi, ma senza che fosse necessario ricorrere ai trucchi della scena trasformabile, con la chiusura del sipario o il temporaneo oscuramento della sala[7].

Un secondo aspetto, che si rifà ancora ai precetti della *Poetica* aristotelica, è che tutti i momenti particolarmente drammatici o violenti dell'intreccio non sono mostrati in scena ma vengono narrati. È questa probabilmente una delle proprietà dell'*Aminta* che più di altre può far giudicare il testo come statico e verboso: non accade niente, qualsiasi azione interessante viene descritta ma non mostrata. In realtà, accettando questo giudizio, non si fa altro che equivocare nuovamente il concetto di teatralità partendo dal presupposto che teatro sia innanzitutto dialogo e azione. Per quale motivo, ad esempio, mostrare il tentativo di violenza del Satiro nei confronti di Silvia, ed il conseguente intervento di Aminta, dovrebbe essere più teatrale del racconto che ne fa Tirsi in 3.1? Perché il vedere i fatti dovrebbe essere più teatrale del narrarli? Per risolvere nuovamente questo stallo fra testo e scarsa rappresentabilità è opportuno fare riferimento direttamente al testo di Tasso con un esempio tratto da 4.2, in cui Ergasto racconta a Silvia, Dafne e il Coro di come Aminta, convinto della morte di Silvia, abbia messo in atto il proprio suicidio.

Dall'inizio della sua narrazione — "Io era a mezzo 'l colle, ove avea tese" (1669)[8] — fino a quando riporta le parole che introducono il discorso pronunciato da Aminta prima di compiere il suo gesto disperato — "Indi parlommi sì: "Fa che tu conti / a le ninfe e a i pastor ciò che vedrai" (1696-97) — il personaggio Ergasto fa uso di endecasillabi, ma nel momento in cui il clima emotivo si fa più teso e drammatico — "Poi disse, in giù guardando: / "Se presti a mio volere / così aver io potessi / la gola e i denti de gli avidi lupi" (1698-1701) — passa a una serie di settenari a cui si alternano liberamente alcuni endecasillabi. Curiosamente, visto che i due protagonisti della vicenda non compaiono mai in scena insieme, è l'unico

momento del dramma in cui Aminta, anche se per l'interposta persona di Ergasto, rivolge le proprie parole direttamente a Silvia. "In questo alternarsi di endecasillabi, destinati alla narrazione e quindi al passato, e di settenari, offerti ai sentimenti e pertanto al presente," ha scritto Scrivano, "consiste la microstruttura del nuovo genere pastorale, che, dunque, ha il compito di realizzare attraverso il discorso, anzi i discorsi, i suoi fini teatrali" (229-230). L'endecasillabo e il settenario sono versi dal ritmo affine, ma il prevalere dell'uno o dell'altro ha una conseguenza diretta a livello espressivo: l'endecasillabo, che, di nuovo secondo Scrivano, "è sovente ampio, lungo, fitto di elisioni, di struttura complessa insomma" (229n), impone una respirazione più lenta e controllata, mentre il settenario insegue un respiro più rapido e irregolare. Ergasto passa decisamente al settenario nel momento in cui deve riproporre quelle che tutti i personaggi presenti in scena, e Silvia in particolare, credono siano le ultime parole pronunciate da Aminta prima di morire. Si tratta, va ripetuto, di un cambio espressivo che il regista può affrontare con le tecniche di oggi — come si vedrà in seguito — senza soccombere all'idea che il testo, essendo puramente verbale, manchi di un'effettiva dimensione performativa.

Un terzo aspetto riguarda le didascalie. Non differenziandosi dalla pratica abituale del teatro rinascimentale, l'*Aminta* ne è priva. Qualsiasi indicazione riguardante lo spazio, l'azione mimica, il costume o altro, può essere quindi rintracciata solo all'interno delle battute stesse. Si tratta in questo caso di brani, o didascalie implicite, che appartengono ad un ordine di scrittura che Pietropaolo definisce "metatestuale rispetto a quello del testo dell'azione scenica" (1495). Un semplice ma chiaro esempio è all'inizio di 3.1. Tirsi è alla disperata ricerca di Aminta e interroga il Coro, a cui si accinge a narrare l'episodio della liberazione di Silvia dal Satiro, e il Coro risponde: "Tu mi pari / così turbato; e qual cagion t'affanna? / Ond'è questo sudor e questo ansare? / Havvi nulla di mal? fa che 'l sappiamo" (1197-200). Il verso "Ond'è questo sudor e questo ansare?" (1199) fornisce una chiara indicazione sullo stato fisico del personaggio Tirsi, come se, prima che Tirsi inizi la battuta introduttiva della scena, al termine della quale chiede al Coro: "Amici, avete visto Aminta, o inteso / novella di lui forse?" (1196-97), ci fosse una didascalia esplicita che dicesse: *entra Tirsi, ansando, di corsa*. Ora, non avendo informazioni precise sulla tecnica recitativa adottata all'epoca del Tasso, è difficile giudicare se il verso servisse per sostenere, diciamo così, una reale rappresentazione di quegli stati fisici da parte dell'interprete di Tirsi o avesse una pura funzione descrittiva. Si tratta comunque di una didascalia che come quelle esplicite il regista può decidere di rispettare o di tagliare. E se a livello letterario il taglio può sem-

brare un atto di violenza, l'interpretazione registica, oggi, può mantenersi fedele al testo chiedendo ad esempio all'interprete di Tirsi di esprimere lo stato di sudore, l'ansare indicato nella battuta del Coro e tagliare quindi il verso in questione. Un approccio che nel caso della sopra ricordata battuta introduttiva di Tirsi in 3.1 sarebbe corroborato anche da un confronto tra edizioni diverse del testo, a prescindere che poi si tagli o meno il verso del Coro in 1199. L'*Aminta* pubblicata nel 1974 da Signorelli, ad esempio, con prefazione di Giuseppe Lipparini, sembra rifarsi alla lezione del Solerti e comprende anche gli *Intermedi* e l'*Epilogo di Venere*. Nell'edizione Rizzoli i primi versi di Tirsi vengono riportati come segue: "Oh crudeltate estrema, oh ingrato core, / oh donna ingrata, oh tre fiate e quattro / ingratissimo sesso!" (1182-84), mentre nell'edizione Signorelli le tre virgole sono sostituite da altrettanti punti esclamativi: "Oh crudeltate estrema! oh ingrato core! / O donna ingrata! o tre fiate e quattro / Ingratissimo sesso!" (63)[9]. È interessante notare che nel secondo caso un attore deve dare al verso un ritmo decisamente più drammatico, il che mi riporta alle considerazioni sulla performatività o meno del testo di Tasso.

Oggi, la tecnica con cui si presenta un racconto in scena può variare dalla dimensione più intima, psicologica, se non addirittura psicanalitica, in prima persona, a quella epica, in terza persona. Si pensi, nel primo caso, a certi monologhi di Pirandello e, nel secondo, alle soluzioni del teatro brechtiano. In 1.2, ad esempio, il racconto in cui Aminta narra di come si sia innamorato di Silvia e quello di Tirsi su Mopso e la visita a "la gran cittade in ripa al fiume" (570) possono essere ricondotti a questi due estremi senza nulla togliere alla dimensione retorica del testo, anzi, esaltandone i molteplici livelli. Nella battuta sopra ricordata di Ergasto in 4.2, le due situazioni convivono in ordine inverso con il passaggio dalla narrazione alla prima persona. L'effetto che ne consegue è quello di un *flashback* che agisce a livello non visivo, come accade nel cinema, ma emotivo, e può essere categorizzato come più o meno teatrale, o addirittura non teatrale del tutto. Resta il fatto che il regista non può prescinderne e non considerarlo parte essenziale del testo drammatico, così come nel caso delle didascalie implicite. Starà a lui e alla sua abilità a mettere in rapporto le variabili relative all'ambiente culturale in cui la rappresentazione viene concepita — non ultima la ricezione da parte del pubblico — a stabilire il coefficiente di teatralità di quanto offerto dal testo[10].

A livello performativo, l'attore è la materia su cui lavorare. Pur in presenza di varianti espressive diverse, l'*Aminta* richiede infatti che la qualità tecnica degli interpreti sia di un certo spessore. Tuttavia, doti vocali, destrezza retorica e presenza fisica sono oggi condizione necessaria ma a

volte non sufficiente per la messinscena finale. Il contributo di altri elementi — le luci, i costumi, la scenografia, la musica, ecc. — può essere determinante nel creare l'effetto di coinvolgimento psicologico o di straniamento o altre soluzioni. Ma è proprio qui, nel rapporto tra questi elementi e la parola recitata, nelle scelte sviluppate dal regista, che il testo-spettacolo determina la propria teatralità, la quale, secondo la pregnante definizione di Patrice Pavis, va percepita "come una utilizzazione pragmatica dello strumento scenico, in modo tale che le componenti della rappresentazione si valorizzino reciprocamente e facciano esplodere la linearità del testo e della parola" (444).

Conviene a questo punto ritornare all'interrogativo iniziale: quale testo leggere? Essendo partito da un'edizione critica che rispettava la lezione di Sozzi, non si è posto il problema dell'*Epilogo di Venere*, né tantomeno quello degli *Intermedi*, che apre tutta una serie di altri problemi tecnici e interpretativi che lo spettacolo messo in scena a Toronto non ha volutamente preso in considerazione. Sviluppate le varie letture nei termini descritti fino ad ora, mi sono quindi reso conto che la vicenda, terminando con il Coro alla fine di 5.1, non aveva nulla di anacronistico rispetto a certi criteri narrativi di oggi. Il senso di pace e tranquillità espresso dal lieto fine probabilmente restituiva il pubblico di Tasso ad una sorta di idillico equilibrio sociale, ma dal punto di vista registico, non si può fare a meno di leggere nel lieto fine delle complicazioni amorose una somiglianza con i più popolari clichés narrativi contemporanei, e il primo riferimento che viene in mente forse è il cinema hollywoodiano.

Letto l'*Epilogo di Venere* nella già ricordata edizione dell'*Aminta* pubblicata da Signorelli nel 1974, la decisione di reintegrare il lungo monologo in quello che è poi diventato, per usare il termine tecnico, il copione finale dello spettacolo da me diretto, non è nata solo dalla lettura di un'altra edizione del testo originale in italiano e dalle ragioni che verranno esposte sotto, ma è stata anche condizionata dai problemi legati alla scelta della traduzione inglese da adottare per la messinscena di Toronto. Dovendo decidere quale traduzione usare e avendo già stabilito il cast degli interpreti, prima di iniziare le prove dello spettacolo si è chiesto loro, nel corso di un breve laboratorio, di mettere a confronto alcuni dei brani più noti dell'*Aminta* avendo come riferimento tre diverse traduzioni: quella di Henry Reynolds, pubblicata nel 1628; quella di Leigh Hunt, che risale al 1820; e quella di Ernest Grillo, pubblicata nel 1924[11]. Le prime due sono in versi, mentre quella di Grillo è in prosa, e ad un primo impatto è sembrata la più adatta per un pubblico di oggi, se non altro per un problema di comprensione. In questo modo però gli attori a cui avevo cercato di

descrivere la ricchezza della poesia di Tasso hanno fatto notare che si perde-
va tutta la qualità delle immagini poetiche originali. La traduzione di
Reynolds, in questo senso, risultava più fedele di quella di Hunt, anche se,
essendo scritta in pentametri giambici, poneva il problema di come recu-
perare quelle variazioni espressive fra endecasillabo e settenario discusse in
precedenza. Inoltre, era anche l'unica, fra le tre, a comprendere l'*Epilogo di
Venere*, che a una prima lettura in inglese è risultato di notevole modernità.
Il risultato del laboratorio, con la conseguente scelta della traduzione stori-
camente più vicina all'epoca di Tasso[12], è quindi indicativo del fatto che il
testo finale dello spettacolo nasce soprattutto dalla lettura agita del testo, a
patto che venga mantenuta viva a livello vocale, fisico, e direi anche sonoro
e visivo, la funzione di fondo che gli è stata attribuita dall'autore.

L'*Epilogo* è un vero e proprio monologo-provocazione sul tema del-
l'amore in cui Venere, in cerca del figlio Amore, si rivolge direttamente al
pubblico per chiedere aiuto: "Ditemi, ov'è mio figlio? / Ma non risponde
alcun? ciascun si tace? / Non l'avete veduto?" (95). La reintegrazione nel
copione di lavoro del monologo non aveva nessuna pretesa di autenticità se
non quella di recuperare, o meglio, far emergere in una forma drammatica
recepibile ad un pubblico contemporaneo quella funzione retorica, defini-
ta dalla Stampino come "epideictic spirit" (39), che il testo di per sé, privo
dell'epilogo e per le ragioni sopra addotte, oggi non riesce più ad espri-
mere[13]. Il brano, con quel suo interrogare con insistenza il pubblico che
torna anche verso il finale, è sembrato, va sottolineato, estremamente
attuale dal punto di vista teatrale e come anche la prima lettura in inglese
degli attori aveva mostrato. L'immagine di Venere che cerca Amore, inoltre,
è diventata la metafora che ha permesso di fissare il tema dello spettacolo:
gli artifici teatrali possono creare belle storie ed escogitare lieti fini, ma nella
realtà, dov'è l'amore? Da qui sono conseguite altre scelte che, nella messin-
scena finale, hanno portato a far apparire Venere, senza che il pubblico
sapesse chi fosse, sin dal prologo iniziale, in cui Amore, in abiti pastorali,
dichiara la sua intenzione di far sì che Silvia s'innamori di Aminta. Per il
resto dello spettacolo Venere rimaneva in scena, come parte del Coro, con
una funzione a volte quasi provocatoria, e infine svelava la sua natura divi-
na nel corso dell'epilogo, al termine del quale scompariva in una magica
sovrapposizione con la proiezione della Venere di Botticelli, un'immagine
oggi talmente abusata da essere usata anche dalla pubblicità, ma proprio
per questo riconoscibile da un pubblico contemporaneo.

Ma come è stato precisato all'inizio, l'intenzione di queste osservazioni
non era tanto "spiegare" lo spettacolo rappresentato a Toronto, quanto
ripensare al rapporto che il regista stabilisce fra lettura del testo e messin-

scena. Sembra quindi opportuno concludere con una citazione di Giorgio Strehler, che d'interpretazione registica se ne intendeva, dal suo discorso per il conferimento della laurea *honoris causa* alla University of Toronto, il 22 novembre 1989: "L'opera", dice Strehler, intendendo il testo teatrale, "si presenta sempre come un grande complesso di elementi di cui soltanto una parte appare strutturata, mentre un'altra parte è una materialità misteriosa" (52). Ecco, perchè la materialità misteriosa non rimanga tale o, peggio, la si nasconda dietro falsi trucchi esteriori, il regista può e deve cercare la collaborazione di chi studia il testo sia come fatto letterario che come fonte di eventi culturali, con la consapevolezza che, secondo Strehler, "[i]l significato di un testo non e la *somma delle sue parole*. E non è intessuto in ognuna di esse" (53).

University of Toronto

NOTE

[1]Aminta. Torquato Tasso. Traduzione: Henry Reynolds. Regia: Gian Giacomo Colli. Scene e luci: Paul Stoesser. Costumi: Linda Phillips. Musiche originali: Erik Ross. Robert Gill Theatre, Toronto. 14-18 e 21-25 marzo 2001.

[2]Senz'altro da collocare in questa prospettiva sono le ipotesi ricostruttive proposte da Ferdinando Taviani e da Fabrizio Cruciani. Tra i numerosi contributi presentati al convegno celebrativo per il IV anniversario della morte di Tasso, tenutosi a Ferrara nel 1995, vanno invece segnalati quelli di Maria Grazia Accorsi e di Andrea Gareffi, entrambi nel terzo dei tre volumi che raccolgono le relazioni presentate al convegno.

[3]Traggo queste informazioni dalla nota bibliografica di Ettore Barelli in Tasso, *Aminta* (Milano, 1999) 36-39.

[4]In merito al saggio di Cruciani si vedano le note 2 e 5.

[5]"È probabile che Tasso stesso abbia presieduto all'allestimento, realizzato però non già dalla Compagnia dei Gelosi, come si è sempre creduto — sulle orme del Solerti —, bensì da una diversa compagine di commedianti, identificata per il momento solo dal capocomico della compagnia, Stefanello Bottarga, che è tuttavia — secondo Franco Piperno, cui si deve la piccola scoperta — un nome d'arte, dietro cui sono almeno due attori: Francesco Baldi e Marco Antonio Veneziano" (Alonge 104). Alonge si riferisce al saggio di Franco Piperno. A seguito della scoperta di Piperno, sottolinea Alonge in nota, perderebbero di importanza gli studi di Taviani e, soprattutto, di Cruciani, che nel suo saggio sulla prima rappresentazione dell'*Aminta* (si veda la nota 2) offre nuovi argomenti in favore dell'ipotesi più diffusa, legata ai Gelosi.

[6]Forse documento della prima rappresentazione del 1573, sull'isoletta di Belvedere (oggi scomparsa), sul Po, vicino Ferrara.

[7]Esemplare, in questo senso, *La tempesta* di Shakespeare prodotta dal Piccolo Teatro di Milano nel 1978. Strehler e lo scenografo Luciano Damiani concepiscono l'isola di Prospero come uno spazio che, a seconda delle scene, muta fisionomia a vista.

[8]I numeri tra parentesi corrispondono alla numerazione dei versi così come appare nell'edizione Rizzoli.

[9]Il numero tra parentesi indica la pagina in quanto l'edizione Signorelli non ha una numerazione dei versi.

[10]Ergasto, nello spettacolo da me diretto, è stato esplicitamente decostruito dividendo il ruolo fra due interpreti che, mantenendo uno stretto contatto fisico, interpretavano rispettivamente la dimensione narrativa, con toni tesi fin quasi all'ironia, e quella emotiva, con accenti melodrammatici.

[11]Solo in seguito, a distanza di tempo dalla produzione teatrale, sono venuto a conoscenza di una nuova e recente traduzione inglese dell'*Aminta* a cura di Charles Jernigan e Irene Marchegiani Jones, in cui sono inclusi gli *Intermedi* ma non l'*Epilogo di Venere*.

[12]Delle tre prese in considerazione, in quanto la prima traduzione dell'*Aminta* in inglese risulterebbe essere quella di Abraham Fraunce, del 1591.

[13]"Ciò che conta, per noi," ha scritto Giovanni Da Pozzo, "è che dei testi che la tradizione tende a coagulare intorno al nucleo dell'*Aminta*, e cioè degli *Intermedi* e dell'*Amor fuggitivo* o *Epilogo* si possa far riferimento con sicurezza in un discorso che riguarda l'*Aminta*" (124). Questo, ritengo, è il punto di vista che deve assumere anche il regista, le cui scelte finali, come spiego, si basano sul confronto fra il testo in una sua possibile integrità o, se si preferisce, autenticità, e quelle che ho definite variabili relative all'ambiente culturale in cui la rappresentazione viene concepita.

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RECENSIONI

Ferguson, Ronnie. *The Theatre of Angelo Beolco (Ruzzante). Text, Context and Performance*. Ravenna: Longo Editore, 2000. Pg. 24., ISBN 888-8063259-0. L. 50.000.

Agli anni settanta e ottanta appartiene principalmente la rifondazione degli studi ruzantiani, mediante il recupero dell'erudizione di fine Ottocento da una parte (da segnalare la data 1965 della raccolta, a cura di Gianfranco Folena, degli *Studi sul Ruzzante e la letteratura pavana* di Emilio Lovarini: Padova, Antenore) e la rigorosa e metodica applicazione di moderni strumenti storici e filologici alla vasta mole del materiale superstite in biblioteche e archivi. Fermo restando lo straordinario valore della monumentale edizione del *Teatro* di Ruzante procurata da Ludovico Zorzi (Torino, Einaudi, 1967), sono state le edizioni critiche condotte con atteggiamento più conservativo nei confronti delle testimonianze d'epoca, a partire dai due volumi curati da Giorgio Padoan (*La Pastoral. La prima oratione. Una lettera giocosa*, Padova, Antenore, 1978; *I dialoghi. La seconda oratione. I prologhi alla moscheta*, ivi 1981), a consolidare una fortunata stagione di studi linguistici ruzantiani le cui basi erano state gettate da Marisa Milani con due importanti e pionieristici studi (*Note sulla lingua del Ruzante*, "Atti dell'Ist. Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti", 102 (1963-64): pp. 517-552; *"Snaturalité" e deformazione nella lingua teatrale del Ruzzante, Quaderni del Circolo filologico linguistico padovano*, 2, (1970): pp. 111-202.

Fuori d'Italia, spetta principalmente a Linda Carroll aver riportato Ruzante sull'agenda degli studi sul Rinascimento veneto, sia pure in forme perlopiù estranee all'approfondimento linguistico e filologico e con angolazioni ideologiche spesso azzardate, specie nel volume *Angelo Beolco (Il Ruzante)* (Boston: Twayne, 1990). Il presente lavoro di Ronnie Ferguson si presenta come una sintesi del rigore documentario imposto dalla tradizione esegetica italiana e dello sguardo d'insieme caro alle monografie anglosassoni, sostenuto qui da un puntiglioso aggiornamento biobibliografico. Questo connubio avviene peraltro in conformità a un carattere peculiare della ricezione di Ruzante, autore che come pochi altri riesce a conciliare la tradizione tutta italiana dell'espressionismo dialettale con una cospicua fortuna estera, ricostruita puntigliosamente da Ronnie Ferguson nel capitolo 2, dedicato a *Reception: Critical and Production History* (si vedano in particolare le pp. 103-106).

Del *corpus* teatrale ruzantiano Ferguson fornisce un utilissimo regesto suddiviso per schede, una per ogni opera, nel cap. I (pp. 10-72): vi trovano spazio non solo campi descrittivi (varie titolazioni, *dramatis personae*, lingue e dialetti impiegati ecc.), e coordinate filologiche (testimoni superstiti, edizioni antiche e recenti, bibliografia), ma anche sezioni discorsive dall'articolazione meno rigida, dove si fornisce una dettagliata sinossi dell'opera e ne vengono considerate le fonti, la struttura e lo scarto rispetto alla tradizione disponibile all'interno dei generi coin-

volti. Alla storia della tradizione viene dunque riservato uno spazio considerevole, ma quasi esclusivamente analitico, con trattazione separata dei testimoni manoscritti e a stampa. Pur rinunciando, con la sola eccezione di una quindicina di *Comments on the Textual Tradition* (13), a ricostruire il contesto tradizionale del teatro ruzantiano, Ferguson delinea una partizione che sembra corrispondere alla vistosa spaccatura (anche cronologica) tra un *corpus* manoscritto, limitato ma databile in gran parte a un periodo in cui l'autore era ancora in vita, e le molte edizioni, tutte postume, ma di affidabilità presumibilmente alta se occorre considerare la biblioteca dei Cornaro come «the likeliest source of the manuscripts on which Giolito and De Alessi [gli editori delle *principes*] worked» (14).

Il capitolo successivo (*Biography and Patronage*, 107-120) affronta in maniera sintetica, ma saldamente ancorata al dato documentario, la complessa biografia ruzantiana e il decisivo rapporto con Alvise Cornaro (alla cui ascesa economica e politica è dedicata la seconda parte del capitolo), quali emergono dal vastissimo materiale offerto dai *Diari* di Marin Sanudo (su cui cfr. anche le pp. 73-74) e dalla vivace ricerca archivistica fiorita in Italia. La ricostruzione dell'ambiente patrizio in cui avvenne la formazione e l'attività teatrale di Ruzante, un *outsider* cui la lunga frequentazione dei Cornaro aveva garantito il libero accesso ai piani alti dei circoli culturali e universitari tra Padova e Venezia, costituisce la necessaria premessa alla corretta definizione e contestualizzazione dello spazio teatrale in cui tale attività s'inserisce, promossa dalle *Compagnie della Calza*, libere associazioni di benestanti appassionati, e accolta come attrazione principe di feste e banchetti (almeno fino al tentativo dell'austero doge Andrea Gritti di proibire l'intrattenimento teatrale a Venezia dopo le controverse *performances* conviviali allestite a Ca' Priuli nel 1530 (114-116).

Basta una breve rassegna dei più noti protagonisti delle scene veneziane, a partire da Cherea (il lucchese Francesco de' Nobili, acclamato protagonista del *revival* plautino sulla Laguna), per rendersi conto di quanto marginale l'uso del dialetto fosse rispetto al toscano prima delle innovazioni del Beolco, i cui antecedenti diretti devono essere individuati nei principali filoni dell'improvvisazione buffonesca, le farse denominate — a partire dai protagonisti, rispettivamente il goffo contadino e il *miles*, vero o presunto, *gloriosus* — *villanesca* e *bulesca*. Tali ingredienti sono più immediatamente riconoscibili nelle prime opere ruzantiane, la *Pastorale* il *Parlamento*, la cui pluralità dialettale era ancor più idonea a suscitare meraviglia nell'uditorio patrizio, come fatto pressoché ignoto prima del Beolco e destinato a diventare un marchio distintivo (e rappresentativo della mescolanza linguistica e culturale presente nel grande bazaar lagunare) del teatro veneziano del Rinascimento.

Alla valutazione dello scarto rispetto a generi e tradizioni preesistenti, e in particolare al riconoscimento di ingredienti tonali, tematici e strutturali riconducibili alla prassi buffonesca è dedicata gran parte del cap. IV (*Explorations of Genre and Language*), che offre anche alcuni concisi ragguagli sulla tradizione padovana dei contrasti e dei *mariazi*, particolarmente pertinente per l'inquadramento delle ruzantiane *Fiorina* e *Betìa*, ma più in generale delle numerose scene a due in cui il personaggio principale (Ruzante, Bilora) intrattiene con la controparte femminile (Gnua, Dina, Betìa) dialoghi caratterizzati dal forte tasso allusivo e da una concezione comicamente materialistica del commercio amoroso. A partire dal prima-

to del modello popolareggiante, Ferguson si chiede giustamente per quale motivo
Ruzante, proprio nel momento di maggior prestigio del modello strutturale clas-
sico (caratterizzato dalla partizione in cinque atti) «had pursued his own agenda
throughout the 1520s, solely within the confines of 'popular' theatrical traditions»
(139) e individua nel soggiorno ferrarese (1529-32, cfr. p. 77) la svolta verso
impianti più conformi alla moderna voga classicheggiante, sottolineata dal-
l'adozione di sfondi urbani e da precisi richiami intertestuali. Se questi ultimi,
nella campionatura offerta da Ferguson alle pp. 140-150, sottolineano la pari
familiarità del Beolco con i modelli latini e con quelli contemporanei (su tutti, la
Calandria di Agnolo Dovizi detto il Bibbiena), solo con le ultime opere in cinque
atti (*La Vaccaria* e *L'Anconitana*) può dirsi compiuto il processo di assimilazione e
adeguamento alla commedia 'regolare', che non è solo strutturale ma linguistico,
con il toscano dei modelli teatrali elevati — il *moscheto* — riservato a personaggi
canonici che a tali modelli appartenevano (l'amante afflitto, i fratelli separati ecc.)
e contrapposto sia al veneziano realisticamente attribuito alla media borghesia cit-
tadina, sia al connubio pavano-bergamasco della tradizione buffonesca. Si aggiun-
ga che l'abilità contaminatoria di Ruzante faceva perno su alcuni punti di contat-
to che, paradossalmente, esistevano tra il teatro latino e la *performance* di piazza:
uno di questi è senz'altro l'uso sincretico del prologo, lo *sprolico* pavano in cui con-
vergono le finalità introduttive e esplicative della commedia regolare, l'assolo
filosofeggiante o apologetico (come nel prologo de *La Betìa*) e lo *showcase* di lazzi
buffoneschi, il tutto talora dilatato a vita autonoma, come nella *Prima oratione*,
che reca il titolo *Sprolico di Ruzante* nel codice veronese (Bibl. Civica, ms. 1636).

Il sesto capitolo (*The Ethics of the Natural*), che conclude il libro, offre una
sintesi del dibattuto problema del naturalismo ruzantiano, prendendo le mosse
dall'uso lessicale stesso del Beolco (vengono censite le occorrenze di *natura, natu-
rale, naturalitè, naturalmen*, con o senza il prefisso intensivo pavano *s-*). Come pre-
liminarmente osserva Ferguson, il messaggio etico che si evolve nell'opera ruzan-
tiana non va certo assimilato a un sistema filosofico: si potrebbe però andar oltre
affermando che gran parte di esso può spiegarsi con l'eclettismo letterario di
Ruzante, che non solo utilizza ampiamente tradizioni teatrali, ma fa suoi temi cari
alla poesia comica e burlesca, quale il 'mondo alla rovescia' e la stessa opposizione
naturale / accidentale, ricca di doppi sensi fondati sul noto (e antichissimo: è già in
Novellino, LXXXVI) valore allusivo di *natura* o *naturale*. Ad essa si affianca il
mondo *roesso*, o «tutto voltò col culo in su» (nel passo della *Moscheta* citato a p.
197) è in ultima analisi il *mundus immundus*, vulgato *topos* della predicazione, ma
anche tema caro alla retorica del paradosso comune alla rimeria comico-realistica,
ad esempio in Nicolò de' Rossi. La tradizione della poesia burlesca era del resto
assai vivace a Padova, in quegli stessi ambienti universitari frequentati dal Beolco,
e intrecciata con l'uso riflesso del dialetto già dal Trecento: Ferguson stesso cita la
tenzone fra Francesco di Vannozzo e Marsilio da Carrara (135). Altrettanto
potrebbe dirsi di svariati temi che caratterizzano «the first explicit formulation of
Ruzantian materialism» (209) nella *Seconda oratione*: la condanna di fame e
povertà come cause principali della rovina morale e materiale di un mondo
«doventò, co' è una tera vegra», il possesso della *roba* come elemento centrale e fon-

dante della socialità umana (e del successo amoroso) sono elementi che coniugano indissolubilmente, e con accenti misuratamente ambigui, la tirata moralistica e l'iperbole di gusto comico-realistico.

Senza nulla togliere all'eccezionale formazione umanistica del Beolco, occorre un cauto equilibrio nel valutare il peso specifico e relativo delle varie componenti culturali per non indurre nel lettore una concezione semplicistica della carriera teatrale del Beolco come passaggio da esordi vicini al gusto popolare a opere della maturità segnate da una più profonda assimilazione dei modelli classici: nella specifica cerchia dei Cornaro, come già nel primo circolo laurenziano, non doveva esistere una forte differenza di prestigio socioculturale tra l'attenzione alle forme letterarie e teatrali del folklore locale e la frequentazione degli autori greco-latini. Ricondurre sistematicamente — come fa Ferguson nella seconda parte del capitolo — il naturalismo e il materialismo di Ruzante alle fonti classiche (e in particolare epicuree e stoiche) è operazione utile sul piano esegetico (il libro offre in queste pagine una stimolante chiave di lettura contrastiva delle diverse fasi drammaturgiche del Beolco), ma passibile di fraintendimenti su quello storico. In generale, l'esegesi delle fonti non può prescindere da un'attenta considerazione storica del *medium* culturale che rende possibile e pertinente il contatto (cui fa riscontro un'*audience* pronta a recepire il disinvolto reimpiego dei modelli): nel caso di Ruzante, è soprattutto l'insistita — e programmatica — sovrapposizione di cultura popolare e bagaglio erudito a produrre forme originali, come nel caso già visto degli *sprolichi*. In particolare, il passo del prologo de *La Piovana*, citato a p. 222, è senz'altro l'esempio più evidente di riutilizzo (non senza accenni parodici) della teoria stoica della perenne ciclicità dell'universo, ma potrebbe leggersi altrettanto bene come riflesso di quella satira del nominalismo sofistico di ascendenza ockhamista (comune agli ambienti goliardici ma presto diffusasi — attraverso rimeria giocosa e narrativa breve — anche in ambienti sensibili alla 'materialità' delle cose, quali quello artigiano e mercantile) che vedeva la distinzione fra un «mi, che a' sarè stò mi» e «vu, che a' sarì stè vu» come principalmente indotta dalla convenzione umana e implicitamente in contrasto con l'identità e immutabilità della natura.

In conclusione, siamo in presenza di un lavoro che segna l'importante acquisizione al pubblico di lingua inglese di uno strumento d'indagine ad ampio raggio, bibliograficamente ricco e strutturato per agevolare la consultazione rapida; l'approccio empirico e il rigore metodologico ne marcano la diversità sia da monografie anglo-americane spesso marcatamente 'a tesi' sia da lavori italiani ad uso pressoché esclusivo degli addetti ai lavori. L'auspicabile ingresso del libro nella didattica universitaria può consolidare anche fuori d'Italia l'ingresso di Ruzante nel canone dei Classici della nostra letteratura, in linea con un crescente interesse per la tradizione dell'espressionismo plurilinguistico e della dialettalità riflessa che, soprattutto per la scarsa disponibilità di traduzioni, fatica ad affermarsi al di fuori delle cerchie specialistiche.

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Grendler, Paul F. *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance.* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002. Pp. xvii, 592. ISBN 0-8018-6631-6. US.$49.50.

As the 2003 Josephine Waters Bennett Lecturer for the Renaissance Society of America conference, held in 2003 in Toronto, Dr. Paul Grendler delivered a paper entitled "Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation." The presentation gave a Janus-like overview of both his recent book on universities in Renaissance Italy and his current research for a forthcoming book on universities elsewhere in Europe. It also included many interesting points of contrast between the Italian and non-Italian experiences that emphasized the unique aspects of university education in Renaissance Italy and justified a book devoted to that topic.

As an expert on education in the Italian Renaissance, Grendler, Professor Emeritus in History at the University of Toronto, is *senza pari*. And this latest offering confirms his well-deserved reputation based on his previous publications, including *Schooling in Renaissance Italy* (1989) and *Books and Schools in the Italian Renaissance* (1995), as well as many articles and essays. As the publisher's note on the inside flap correctly states, this is "the first book in any language to offer a comprehensive study of this most influential institution." Grendler has synthesized a large body of scholarship published in several languages dealing with particular institutions, types of learning, texts, individuals, and events; and throughout the book he has integrated an impressive array of new evidence, much of it extracted from archival records that have been largely neglected in the past.

The book begins with institutional histories of the sixteen universities in order of their formation, from Bologna in the late twelfth century to Parma at the dawn of the seventeenth century. This is followed by an explanation of how these various institutions, and the students and professors who peopled them, functioned as they developed over time. Grendler organizes the foundations of these universities under three successive 'waves' separated by interims of significant duration, the first wave occurring in the High Middle Ages, the second in the early Renaissance from 1343 to 1445, and the third from 1540 to 1601 during the 'Counter Reformation'. Two interesting variants are also discussed: 'incomplete foundations', such as the public lectureships at Modena from the mid-fourteenth century until the end of the sixteenth century, and 'paper universities', such as the College of Physicians in Venice, which possessed charters from popes or emperors and actually conferred degrees, but in which little or no formal instruction seems to have actually taken place.

The second section deals with curriculum, treating in succession the humanities, logic, natural philosophy (science), medicine, theology, ethics, mathematics, and law. The activities of the humanists naturally loom large in this section, as Grendler explains the process by which the literary, philosophical and linguistic subjects which constituted the *studia humanitatis* were institutionalized within the university setting beginning in about 1425, and how the institutions were themselves transformed as a result, as were the other subjects of study taught within them. Science and medicine, and anatomy in particular, which made significant

strides in this period under Italian leadership, also justly receive much attention. Legal studies are extensively treated as well, not only with reference to the famous schools at Bologna and Padua, but also at institutions of later foundation and lesser reputation, such as Pavia, Florence, and Siena, as instruction in civil law grew in importance at the expense of canon law studies.

The third and final section of the book treats the decline of the Italian Renaissance universities. Citing such factors as the growing competition from Jesuit schools, the increasing preference of both professors and students to private instruction over public lectures, financial pressures and rampant student violence, Grendler argues convincingly that the chief blame for the decline of the Italian universities in the seventeenth century lies with the princes and city councils that in previous times had been so instrumental in promoting their foundation and growth, and in helping them overcome external and internal problems. The various challenges universities faced in the seventeenth century received a weak or counterproductive response from government authorities who "failed to deal with abuses and sometimes made matters worse through neglect, provincialism and financial stringency" (508).

The text is supported by a map and several plates reproducing pages from early printed books, pamphlets and public notices, as well as a handwritten diploma issued in 1504. Eighteen tables have been integrated into the body of the book and two additional tables detailing faculty and student populations are provided in an appendix, summarizing for ease of comparison the data presented in the first section of the book. A comprehensive bibliography and useful index follow.

This book will surely stand for many years to come as the definitive study of this subject. While much still remains to be done in this field, Grendler has carefully summarized the received scholarship and contributed much important new information from his own research. For this reason, generations of scholars in this field will regard this book both as an invaluable introduction to the subject and an indispensable resource in pursuing their own research interests.

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Caponigro, Maria Adelaide. *La negazione dell'eros nell'*Aminta *di Torquato Tasso.* Roma: Aracne, 1997. Pp. 81. ISBN 8-8799-9163-9. L. 15.000.

Il breve testo di Maria Adelaide Caponigro si inserisce nel repertorio critico che concerne l'opera tassiana proponendo un approccio psicanalitico che l'autrice stessa immediatamente giustifica in apertura di volume, nella Premessa. La studiosa, conscia di una certa riluttanza con cui la critica letteraria guarda alla psicanalisi quando applicata alla letteratura, chiarisce immediatamente come il suo intento non sia quello di psicanalizzare il Tasso né di operare sull'opera in questione come se fosse un caso clinico, ma quello di affrontare l'*Aminta* come "esemplificazione quasi didascalica e inaspettatamente attuale delle dinamiche amorose adolescenziali" (1).

Nel primo capitolo dal titolo "Psicanalisi e letteratura: un problema di metodo", l'autrice, sebbene sottolinei l'estrema importanza e validità degli studi compiuti da Francesco Orlando e dei diversi saggi sull'argomento, lamenta non di meno la mancanza di un metodo di studio che fornisca termini di paragone comparabili e sollecita una considerazione dello stesso suo lavoro come contributo "pionieristico" fondato sui modelli precedenti. Assunti fondamentali del pensiero freudiano quali la conoscibilità dell'inconscio attraverso il suo legame con il linguaggio e la continua evoluzione della dialettica tra represso e repressione che coinvolge il concetto di civiltà sono per Caponigro alla base della sua ricerca. Oltre al saggio *Eros e civiltà* di Herbert Marcuse — del quale viene sottolineata l'importanza della introduzione di Jervis — l'autrice ha scelto inoltre importanti opere freudiane come chiave ermeneutica del suo lavoro come ad esempio, *Precisazioni sui due principi dell'accadere psichico*. Per Caponigro, il "ritorno del rimosso sotto il travestimento pastorale rappresenta il vero contenuto dell'opera" (7). L'*Aminta* è dunque il luogo del travestimento inserito nella dinamica di sostituzione del principio del piacere con quello della realtà. Attraverso la scelta del genere letterario e dell'ambientazione pastorale si ovvia ai canoni morali dettati dalla Controriforma per l'affermazione del principio dell'eros. Lo scontro si attua quindi all'interno della dicotomia individuo-società. L'autrice sottolinea come le sue siano soltanto ipotesi e non aspira ad un'assolutezza di significato. Attraverso la verifica della attuazione del gioco censura-rimosso, vuole verificare come ciò si realizzi nell'*Aminta*. Il primo capitolo si conclude con la presentazione in maniera sintetica ma chiara delle teorie di G. Jervis in relazione all' applicazione delle teorie e metodologie psicanalitiche ai testi letterari.

Il secondo capitolo, breve — "L'*Aminta*: introduzione alla lettura" — introduce l'opera con data e luogo della prima messa in scena e fornisce una breve delucidazione della letteratura pastorale con riferimenti a scritti dal Carducci a Renucci a Borsellino e fornendo altri riferimenti critici abbastanza recenti sul Tasso, l'Arcadia e l'*Aminta* che possono funzionare come punto di partenza per un approfondimento bibliografico sul tema.

Il terzo capitolo, il più esteso — "Tematiche, personaggi e dinamiche testuali" — entra nel merito del testo che viene posto come tentativo, da parte del Tasso, di una coraggiosa opposizione all'etica controriformista oltre che adesione completa al clima ludico della corte estense di Alfonso II. Sin dall'inizio, viene sottolineata la "carica erotica che pervade anche il mondo della natura" (19). Scrive Caponigro che "l'amore che vorrebbe trionfare senza tormenti morali, come obbedienza alla natura, si origina dal bisogno di dar vita a fantasie grandiose e onnipotenti, le quali concedono agli uomini il piacere di liberarsi del pensiero e di evadere dalla civiltà" (p. 20). Un primo motivo centrale dell'opera viene quindi individuato nel "S'ei piace, ei lice" del Coro alla sua prima apparizione (I.ii). L'*Aminta* viene dunque posta come tentativo di condanna della società che si impegna, attraverso una costrizione ideologica, a compiere una "disumana rimozione del piacere" (21). L'autrice sottolinea come si verifichino tali imposizioni in età controriformista, a livello europeo e non solo in area cattolica. Il codice dominante viene posto in discussione attraverso l'uso del mito e del mascheramento. Il rifiuto di "Onore" che

trasforma gli *atti lascivi* in null'altro che atti *retrosi e schivi* è ciò che può permettere il recupero del rimosso. La sessualità "rimossa" dall'"acculturazione" si oppone alla "sessualità accettata" della "naturalità".

Il secondo motivo centrale dell'opera è imperniato, per la studiosa, sull'esemplificazione delle dinamiche adolescenziali dell'innamoramento e la scoperta della sessualità attraverso cui si stabilisce una "relazione oggettuale intensa" (24). Il contrasto tra Amore e Venere si legge invece come autoaffermazione dell'uno nei confronti dell'altra. Il figlio a rappresentare la naturalità dell'adolescente contro la madre, adulta, a rappresentare ciò che è istituzionalizzato, "culturizzato", come scrive Caponigro. La "crisi affettiva adolescenziale" di Aminta e Silvia si inserisce quindi in queste dinamiche di opposizione tra natura e cultura, contrasto anticipato nel Prologo che si concluderà con un lieto fine, sia pur dopo sofferenze e pene d'amore. Silvia "naturalmente" matura un senso narcisistico per il proprio corpo. Quando Aminta la libera, dopo essere stata legata ad un albero da Satiro, egli non la possiede e, dice Caponigro, Silvia viene frustrata sessualmente. Solo il tentativo di suicidio di Aminta porterà la giovane a ricambiarne il sentimento. Ad essi si aggiunge Satiro che Caponigro associa alla sessualità negata di Aminta; Satiro è quindi portatore di una sessualità della naturalità che viene fuggita da Silvia la quale non è in grado di accettarla se non entro i limiti imposti dalla società. Sarà proprio Satiro, per Caponigro, a permettere a Silvia di liberare la sua sessualità repressa e permettere ad Aminta, quindi, di mostrarsi come un eroe "rassicurante". Il motivo del rifiuto di Aminta da parte di Silvia è chiarito secondo la formulazione freudiana esposta in *Contributi alla psicologia della vita amorosa*: la sessualità di Silvia, ancora "acerba" rifiuta colui che per primo le prospetta l'atto sessuale "per una reazione arcaica di ostilità verso l'uomo che la possiede per la prima volta" (47).

Nel capitolo quarto, "Dinamiche linguistiche e dinamiche psicologiche", viene fornito l'indice di frequenza delle occorrenze e viene anche proposta una lettura in termini psicologico-linguistici. Al capitolo si aggiunge un'appendice che riporta i passi significativi relativi alla proposta di lettura data nello stesso capitolo.

Nel quinto ed ultimo capitolo, "La negazione dell'eros", Caponigro tira le file del suo discorso definendo l'opera come "dramma essenzialmente psicoanalitico" (71) perché permette, dice Caponigro, l'esplorazione del profondo e lo svelamento della "precarietà dei suoi codici culturali" (47). La negazione dell'eros rappresentata in maniera non esplicita fa quindi del dramma una messa in scena di natura psicanalitica. Il testo si avvale anche di una breve bibliografia tassiano-psicanalitica e di un indice dei nomi.

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The Premodern Teenager. Youth and Society 1150-1650, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler. Toronto: CRRS, 2002. Pp. 348, Figs. 12. ISBN 0-7727-2018-5. US$ 39.95, Can$ 59.95.

The publication of Philippe Ariès's pioneering *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* in 1972 marked the beginning of a period of intense research on the

history of childhood in the premodern era. Aries maintained that the sociopsy-chological concept of childhood did not exist in the Middle Ages, the proof of which was supposedly demonstrated by the inability of medieval artists to portray children realistically. For Ariès, a concept of childhood as a special stage in human life, distinct from adulthood, was an invention of the early modern period. Far from liberating children and improving their lives, he held, the so-called invention of childhood denied children the relative freedom they had enjoyed in the Middle Ages and subjected them to an unprecedented degree of harsh discipline. Aries's ideas about the invention of childhood attracted enthusiastic adherents, but were also contested by many leading scholars (David Herlihy, Shulamith Shahar, Barbara Hanawalt, and Nicholas Orme, to name a few). There is now a broad consensus among historians that the concept of childhood was never invented. Quite the opposite: from the ancient world to the present there existed an ever- mutable, yet discernable, conceptual vocabulary which has been employed to distinguish children from adults. Current research focuses on both the cultural construction of childhood and the actual treatment of children by adults, and how concepts and practices relating to childhood were shaped over time by religious beliefs, medical knowledge, legal prescriptions, family matters, socioeconomic conditions, demographic trends, local contexts, and not least, gender.

Konrad Eisenbichler, the author of the prize-winning study *Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence, 1411-1785* and the editor of the volume under review, acknowledges the profusion of research on mediaeval and early modern childhood yet contends that scholars have failed to pay sustained attention to adolescence, that formative stage beginning with the commencement of puberty and terminating with adulthood, that is, when one married, became head of a family, or reached legal majority. The seventeen essays represent an impressive sample of ongoing interdisciplinary research on the culture and comportment of adolescent boys and girls in medieval and early modern Europe.

The volume is divided into six sections. In the first section, "Identifying Youths: Terminology and Sub-Culture," Ilaria Taddei examines the range of terms used to refer to male infancy and youth (*infante, putto, bambino, fanciullo, adolescente, giovane, garzone* and *ragazzo*) in Renaissance Florence. Although these terms had overlapping meanings and did not correspond to precise chronological ages, various sources indicate that terms such as *adolescente* carried cultural specificity and referred to a person located between *puerizia* (boyhood) and *giovinezza* (youth). In turn, Ludovica Sebregondi spotlights the clothes worn by Florentine adolescents, which were designed to distinguish them from adult males. As Roni Weinstein reveals, there were crucial differences dividing Jewish and Christian adolescents in early modern Italy. For one thing, having reached the age of thirteen, the beginning of adulthood, both Jewish boys and girls tended to leave the parental home. In Jewish culture adolescence was treated as a stage of unbridled and dangerous passions that had to be reined in. While negative views of adolescent passion derived from Augustinianism continued to inform Christian attitudes toward children, there also existed new perspectives advanced by the humanists that youth was a time of positive intellectual and social possibilities. The major

point of Weinstein's piece is that the ghettoization of Jews in the sixteenth centu-
ry paradoxically empowered a sub-culture of young Jewish males, who, like their
Christian counterparts, banded together in homosocial gangs prone to violence.

The rituals of youth are the subject of three fine papers, one on Italy, the oth-
ers on England. Based on her study of sixty volumes of documents produced
between 1590 and 1630 by the criminal court (*Torrone*) of Bologna, Ottavia
Niccoli details how the city's authorities, animated by the reforming zeal of the
Council of Trent, worked to curb the supposedly harmful games and rituals, such
as stone throwing, defending one's honour, public kissing, performed by young
men in Bologna and its vicinity. According to Niccoli, the most popular ritual in
the Bolognese countryside was the ritual of the May tree. In this ritual, celebrated
the night of the first of May, a suitor placed branches, bunches of flowers, and
undeveloped trees in front of the door or window of the young woman he was
courting or wished to court. When the intention was to honour the woman, the
branches were filled with presents, when to dishonour, a donkey's bell or a pair of
slippers, signifying exposed female genitalia, were hung from the branches. The
May tree ritual was officially suppressed in 1687 by the papal legate. Although the
youth of King Edward II has been much studied, Virginia A. Cole stresses that in
performing religious rituals expected of an aristocratic youth and member of the
royal family, the adolescent Edward exhibited a surprising degree of independence.
Taking a different tack, Robert Zajkowski focuses on the edificatory rituals attend-
ing the royal entry of the adolescent Henry VI into London in 1432.

Regarding education, Mark H. Lawhorn writes about Jacobean theatre as a
site for public consideration of the coming of age of young English princes, while
Marian Rothstein considers the popularity of portrayals of exceptional children in
Renaissance French novels. Christopher Carlsmith examines the careers of fellow-
ship students who left Bergamo to study at the University of Padua in the mid six-
teenth century and concludes that there was a "greater emphasis upon imposing
obedience, orthodoxy and 'godly discipline' among adolescents after 1550" (169).
Teen knights and combat is the subject of Ruth Mazo Karras paper, which argues
persuasively that in the chivalric world of male camaraderie of the late Middle
Ages the competition among young and prospective knights for the love of women
was less about erotic love than about signaling their masculinity to other men. In
his paper, the military historian Kelly DeVries cautions that one should not
assume from the examples of the Black Prince and Joan of Arc that adolescents
normally participated in warfare in the Middle Ages. The evidence for children's
participation is uneven and equivocal.

The lead essay on sex and adolescence by Fiona Harris Stoertz contrasts
monastic regulations of the early Middle Ages, which were aimed at protecting
adolescents from sexual predators, with later monastic regulations, beginning with
those of Cluny in the eleventh century, which were aimed at constraining restless
and intransigent adolescent flesh itself. Phillip D. Collington uses Shakespeare's
Two Gentlemen of Verona to investigate the "cuckoldry anxiety" of adolescent males
provoked by the already-present dread of future wifely infidelity. In a different
vein, Ursula Potter, writing about the depiction of youthful sexuality in Romeo

and Juliet, explores the anxieties of Juliet's father who reduces "lovemaking to sex making, and women's anatomy to a fearful handicap" (289).

Carol Lansing opens the final section ("Teens in Trouble") with an essay that brings to light several cases concerning young girls in late thirteenth-century Bologna, who, without family protection and resources, were forced into concubinage and prostitution and pseudoadulthood. In the concluding essay, John Leland offers an informative discussion of the circumstances prompting young people to return to their natal homes in the countryside after serving urban apprenticeships.

Although the addition of essays on medical doctrines and legal regulations would have enhanced the value of the collection, the volume nevertheless provides a series of valuable entry points into a fascinating subject.

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Comanini, Gregorio. *The Figino, or On the Purpose of Painting: Art Theory in the Late Renaissance,* **trans. with introduction and notes by Ann Doyle-Anderson and Giancarlo Maiorino. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001. Pp. xxi, 158. ISBN 0-8020-3574-4. (cloth), 0-8020-8446-X. (paper). $ 50 (cloth), $ 21.95 (paper).**

Amidst the piety and censure of the Catholic Reform movement in late sixteenth-century Italy, Gregorio Comanini, a Lateran canon resident in Milan, composed a learned dialogue on the purpose of painting: whether painting should merely delight or instead seriously instruct and morally uplift? Comanini's treatise, *Il Figino overo del fine della Pittura* of 1591 has been known to some Renaissance specialists and art historians through Paola Barocchi's Italian edition (*Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento,* 3 v., Bari, 1962). However, the new and complete English translation by Ann Doyle-Anderson and Giancarlo Maiorino brings the text to a much larger audience for the first time. Scholars and students will benefit from several aspects of this easily readable text.

Il Figino can now be included in the teaching of Renaissance art at the undergraduate level. Comanini's discussion of painting's purpose would enhance a seminar on Cinquecento art theory that focused on the well-known works by Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo. Vasari's monumental *Lives* (*Le vite...,* 1550 and 1568) charts the history of Italian art chronologically, using a framework of style-criticism to establish progress from one stage of development to the next. The style of Michelangelo, Vasari's artist-genius, establishes the peak of perfection in the narrative. Vasari traces how Florentine and Roman artists, from Giotto to Masaccio to Leonardo and Raphael, exhibited salient features in their paintings that heralded the supernatural spirit of Michelangelo's art. Working for the Medici and in the shadow of Michelangelo, Vasari's history reflects his Florentine allegiances. Lomazzo, on the other hand, was one of several Northern Italians who took exception to Vasari's perspective. In his long and complex *Trattato dell'arte della pittura* (Milan, 1584),

Lomazzo tried to reconfigure the history of art along Lombard lines. Translated into English and French in his own day, sections of the *Trattato* are still widely read today because of the way Lomazzo discusses elements of pictorial style classified now as "mannerist", including the *figura serpentinata*. (See, also, Lomazzo's 1590 *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*, and the commentary by John Shearman, *Mannerism*, 1967, and David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, 1981). By way of contrast, Gregorio Comanini's *Il Figino* does not treat the historical and stylistic development of art, but focuses instead on art's purpose.

That Comanini, a churchman, should turn to focus on the proper purpose of painting is hardly surprising at a time when the views of the Council of Trent concerning the position and function of the Fine Arts were widely heard in debates over the appropriateness of many artistic images, most notably Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*. We are reminded, in the course of Comanini's discursive dialogue, of the classical tradition of analyzing the role of art in society (eg. Plato's *Republic*, X). Comanini's knowledgeable citations of the classics also place him within a humanist tradition stemming back to Leon Battista Alberti, who asserted the moral and didactic functions of art in *De Pictura* (1435). Comanini conveys his learning in frequent summaries of salient passages from Plato, Aristotle, Pliny and many other Greek and Roman writers. The brilliant Ferrarese poet Torquato Tasso praised Comanini in his *Discorsi del Poema Eroico* as one 'endowed with great learning' with whom he enjoyed conversations on art and literary theory (*Il Figino*, editors' intro., x).

Although little is known about Comanini, some of the helpful biographical information contained in Barocchi's Italian edition might well have been reiterated here to provide a social context for the author and the treatise. Unlike Vasari and Lomazzo, Comanini was not an artist. It can only be surmised from the treatise that he was, rather, a member of an intellectual circle in Milan in which art theory was a subject of learned debate. This circle, or perhaps informal academy, likely included Lomazzo. Comanini's character "il Figino", who takes on the persona of the ailing painter in the dialogue, owes much to Lomazzo and was, in real life, a pupil of Lomazzo and his most important disciple: Ambrogio Figino, 1548-1608. (See, for example, his organ shutters for Milan cathedral: *Passage of the Red Sea* and *Ascension of Christ*, 1590-95; S. J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy 1500-1600*, rev. 1978, 596.)

As a literary work, Comanini's *Il Figino* shares an intellectual tone with Lomazzo's contemporary *Trattato*, a tone which may be more generally characteristic of Milanese thought of this date. The writing is highly academic to the point of sometimes becoming dry and belaboured. Interestingly, Ambrogio Figino's paintings have been described in analogous terms, as "deadly serious … heavily rhetoric[al] … only a formal and didactic [artistic] speech" (Freedberg, 1978, 596). Doyle-Anderson and Maiorino explain that the intellectual atmosphere was complex given the tensions between secular and religiously austere tendencies in art and society. As they perceptively point out, Comanini's treatise partakes of this complexity. Using the widespread device of a dialogue, Comanini's three characters – a painter (Figino), a poet (Guazzo), and a prelate (Martinengo) — consider the role of painting from diverse perspectives encompassing the desire of the artist to delight, the challenge of the imitation of reality and the competition among the

arts (the paragone debate), and the Church's view on the pious role of image making. Yet in Comanini's dialogue many issues are raised but few resolved; and this, as the editors note, is another symptom of the complexity of the times. Furthermore, the discussions in the treatise become convoluted when, to support one position or another, short bites of classical wisdom on topics ranging from art to cosmology to Pythagorean music are inserted into the conversation. One wonders whether Comanini had an educational purpose when he wrote, since the traditional knowledge of the Liberal Arts curriculum is often featured. However, broad-ranging intellectual interests, encompassing both the arts and the sciences, were also fostered at enlightened courts, particularly the society surrounding Rudolf II in Prague. Significantly, Comanini shared with Emperor Rudolf high praise for the imaginative and intelligent painter Giuseppe Arcimboldo.

In fact, two of the most interesting passages in Comanini's *Il Figino* involve Arcimboldo. Though these discussions have been recognized by specialists, they can now be read more easily within the context of the treatise as a whole. In the treatise, Comanini dwells at length on the marvelous art and science of the Milanese-born, Arcimboldo, court artist to Ferdinand I, Maximilian II and Rudolf II of Prague, from 1562-87. He documents how Arcimboldo—'the super-genius painter'—created a system of colour tones and sequencing analogous to the musical scale of tones and semi-tones generated from Pythagoras' theory of harmonic proportions. As Comanini relates, Arcimboldo taught Mauro Cremonese dalla Viuola, a musician at the Prague court, this system of music and colour correspondences, and Mauro then "played on the cembalo all those harmonies that Arcimboldo had marked in colours." (102-103; see also L. Levi, "L'Arcimboldi Musicista," 1954.)

Arcimboldo is best known for his fantastic portraits, two of which are discussed in *Il Figino* (18-25). In 1589, Arcimboldo create a portrait of a beautiful woman in the guise of Flora, goddess of flowers, using images of flower heads and petals to compose the likeness. The *Flora* was sent to Emperor Rudolf from Milan together with a short poetic appreciation by Comanini, which he included also in his dialogue. Arcimboldo's portrait of Rudolf II as *Vertumnus*—god of the seasons and "master" of nature—was likewise accompanied by a poem by Comanini when the painting was sent to Prague, in this instance a very lengthy exposition. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann has interpreted the portrait as an "imperial allegory" in part due to allusions in Comanini's poem (*The Mastery of Nature*, 1993, ch. 4, previously published in article form in 1976.)

For the art historian and the historian of religion, however, the most important and intriguing section in *Il Figino* is the learned discussion of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*. Comanini comes to the defence of Michelangelo's mural despite the fact that religious reformers and even much more moderate detractors were strongly opposed to several purportedly inappropriate elements in the sacred image. Comanini has both Figino — who in real life emulated Michelangelo's art — and the prelate, Martinengo, defend Michelangelo against specific and more widespread accusations launched by Ludovico Dolce and others. Drawing on the concept of different literary modes, Comenini's dialogue explains that Michelangelo's apparent breaches of religious decorum can be seen, instead, in terms of the artistic use of allegory, and that

artistic images should not always be interpreted at face value. Comanini's intelligent defense of Michelangelo, despite his own religious position, suggests how little support many of the Council of Trent's strictures may have had. By inserting his defence into the mouths of his only semi-fictional characters, Comanini barely veils his own opinions concerning the vital issue of religious images and decorum.

In order to assess the impact of Comanini's treatise, including his defence of Michelangelo, it would be important to know how widely read *Il Figino* was and by whom. This new edition unfortunately lacks any information on the history of the book itself. It would also be helpful to know more about the specific environment that inspired the academic discussions in this dialogue in order to more fully understand the intellectual debates in their original context. The ways of thinking and the points of view expressed in *Il Figino* evidently reflect discussions on art held in Milan and perhaps also, given the involvement of Tasso, in Ferrara in the decades leading up to 1600. And yet, how widespread were such modes of thought? Caravaggio was in Milan at this time apprenticing to become a painter. The impact of this academic ambient on Caravaggio's way of thinking about painting was apparently negligible.

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Küpper, Joachim. *Petrarca. Das Schweigen der Veritas und die Worte des Dichters.* Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter 2002. Pp. xi, 201. ISBN 3-11-017557-6.

This book is a collection of articles on Petrarch by Joachim Küpper, Professor of Romance Philology and General and Comparative Literature at the FU Berlin. His scientific work covers a vast range of Romance literary and cultural fields, from French nineteenth-century novel to Spanish Baroque drama and from Augustine through Petrarch to Spanish seventeenth-century pre-Empiricism, Spanish culture being by far his most important centre of interest. The five texts assembled in the present volume consider, in the best philological tradition, Petrarch's works in their cultural and historical context, focusing on the *Canzoniere* within fourteenth-century cultural discourse. Küpper takes into consideration not only Petrarch's Latin production, thus commendably transcending the usual limits of Italian studies, but also relevant works from Antiquity to the Late Middle Ages. Küpper's method is characterized by a solid command of Latin and the vernaculars as well as deep-going knowledge of the history of Western thought.

The first article, 'Das Schweigen der Veritas. Zur Kontingenz von Pluralisierungsprozessen in der Frührenaissance (Petrarca, *Secretum*),' originally from 1991, focuses on one of the most important Latin works of Petrarch, his self-analysis in the form of a dialogue with "Augustinus"—a text, characteristically worked and reworked and finally left uncompleted. In contrast with the still rather common biographical interpretation of the dialogue as one between Petrarch— sometimes also seen as representing the author in the previous phase of his life—and Augustine—sometimes also seen as representing Petrarch reformed—Küpper, in

agreement with the analysis of K. Heitmann ('Augustins Lehre in Petrarcas *Secretum*', 1960), argues for "Petrarca" and "Augustinus" being dialogical figures for the purpose of representing certain views—a procedure later typical of full-fledged humanist dialogue (cf. David Marsh, *The Quattrocento Dialogue*). In fact, Küpper demonstrates that "Augustinus" represents the Thomistic-rationalist position according to which man may influence his salvation, whereas "Franciscus" professes the authentic Augustinian faith in salvation through grace only. Küpper explains this procedure on one hand with reference to the academic *disputatio*, the teacher ("Augustinus") taking up a position for the sake of the argument, the pupil ("Franciscus") showing his brilliance in defending his own, and on the other hand through the Ciceronian dialogue form that makes it possible to contrast these two positions, perfectly defensible from the Christian point of view. Furthermore, Küpper underlines that according to Lactantius and Isidore of Seville, a poet should express the truth *obliquis figurationibus* and not in a plain manner. Küpper also suggests that the *Secretum* would originally have been a kind of showcase for Petrarch's theological erudition in view of possible ecclesiastical employ, the subsequent re-workings being explainable through the abandonment of this original purpose.

In 'Mundus imago Laurae...', originally from 1992, Küpper's solid knowledge of Western theology and medieval hermeneutics as well as the value of close, philological reading of the text come to good use as he argues against a naive biographical interpretation of *canz.* 176 'Per mezz' i boschi' and also shows that the sonnet is no simple piece of emulation of *Hor. carm.* 1.22. As in the other articles, the author tackles the problem of Petrarch as a pre-humanist, coming up with a very nuanced analysis of Petrarch's place within fourteenth-century culture.

'Schiffsreise und Seelenflug...', originally from 1993, proposes a very convincing interpretation of *canz.* 189 'Passa la nave mia colma d'oblio' and 167 'Quando Amor i belli occhi a terra inchina' in Augustinian terms: a ship without a mast is man without Christ, earthly love leading to death and corruption.

The entertaining '(H)er(e)os...', from 1999, interprets the *Canzoniere* in the framework of contemporary medical discourse on love-sickness, the destructive *amor hereos* of medical treatises, one of the foremost characteristics of which being the *profundacio cogitacionis* of the beloved one, Petrarch's *pensare/pensieri*. This article also throws light in an exemplary way on the impact of Aristotelianism on Western literature between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries.

The final essay on *canz.* 365, 'Vergine bella, che, di sol vestita', shows (once again) the ambiguous nature of Petrarch's last sonnet, and argues that reversed meaning (praise of Virgin Mary) does not erase previous ones (praise of Laura in similar terms in most of the *Canzoniere*), but results in co-existence of several readings.

In short, this volume offers a very interesting series of studies that no Petrarch scholar should ignore, neither from the point of view of methodology nor from that of factual contents.

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Esposito Frank, Maria. *Le insidie dell'allegoria: Ermolao Barbaro il Vecchio e la lezione degli antichi. Memorie, classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti, 88.* Venezia: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1999. Pp. viii,133. ISBN 8-8861-6680-X.

This is a study of the two *Orationes contra Poetas* which the Venetian patrician and bishop of Verona, Ermolao Barbaro the Elder (1410–71) published in 1455 or the years immediately thereafter in reaction to a letter of the Franciscan friar Bartolomeo of Lendinara. Sometimes viewed as an obscurantist attack on poetry and pagan literature, Barbaro's orations are in fact, from my own reading of them, a far more clear headed recitation of the facts of matter, than the illusions expressed by fra Bartolomeo. A pupil of Guarino Veronese and translator from the Greek of some of Aesop's fables, Barbaro was well versed in classical literature, a friend of humanists, and the supporter of a humanist circle at Verona. Giorgio Ronconi, the editor of Barbaro's *Orationes* in 1972, did an excellent job in laying out Barbaro's humanists interests and connections. In her opening chapter, Esposito Frank builds on Ronconi's data before going on in the subsequent chapter to summarize the *Orationes* and provide a very useful scheme of the points made by fra Bartolomeo in his lost letter to Barbaro. As Ronconi had already recognized and documented, almost all of the arguments made by fra Bartolomeo (19 out of 22 in Esposito Frank's count) derive directly from Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium.* The friar contended that poets were divinely inspired theologians and saints revealing celestial mysteries. Going beyond Boccaccio, fra Bartolomeo even claimed that the poets spoke of God, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. In response, Barbaro viewed all this as rank nonsense. Indeed, their job was very much to provide the lewd entertainment of the ancient comic stage. These purveyors of *libido* were never held in honour in antiquity. Rightly did Plato ban them from his ideal republic. Not even did the—in many respects meritorious —Virgil and Horace receive civic distinctions. The whole point of Barbaro's *Orationes*, in other words, was to debunk the notion of the ancient poets as the bearers of divinely revealed truths and the wish of the allegorists to read into the sexual and polytheistical statements of the poets anything other than what their words actually say.

In an informative third chapter Esposito Frank puts the good bishop's orations within the context of the Quattrocento debate on the place of the ancient poets in the education of youth. She takes up this theme again in her last chapter (102–105). Esposito Frank's fourth chapter starts with Ronconi's observation that Barbaro reserved his most violent criticism for the lasciviousness of the classical stage and goes on to connect this vehemence with the often scandalous and bawdy vulgar theatre Barbaro saw about him in his own day, especially the Venetian *momarie.*

But the most ambitious parts of the book are the last two chapters, "Il ritorno di Platone" and "*Humanitas* e *Divinitas.*" Esposito Frank convincingly argues that Barbaro was reacting not simply against fra Bartolomeo, but even more so against the attitude disseminated since the Trecento by such leading figures as Mussato, Petrarch, Salutati, and most especially Boccaccio, of the poets *theologizantes.* In this operation, according to Esposito Frank, Plato was not merely a reservoir of condemnations of the poets, as Carestia Greenfield believed, but the source of

Barbaro's understanding of the proper spheres of poetry, philosophy, and theology. But, Esposito Frank rightly notes, Barbaro got his Plato from Augustine and therefore, like Augustine, he makes it very clear that in the final analysis Plato is inferior to any Christian (79). Given the great popularity of Marsilio Ficino's and Giovanni Pico's view of Plato, as Esposito Frank also notes, Barbaro was swimming against the rising late Quattrocento tide of those who wished to find as much Christianity as possible in Plato. Esposito Frank introduces the Byzantine Platonist George Gemistus Pletho into the narrative (82–87), but to unfortunate effect. Not only is she inaccurate (John Agyropoulos did not write anything in defense of Pletho) and on shaky grounds on some assertions (a solar cult is not a characteristic of Pletho's *Laws* and the stress on Orpheus is an exaggeration since this antique authority is not even named in the surviving parts of the *Laws*), but her whole attempt to connect Barbaro's criticism of Orpheus with the supposed influence of Gemistus at the time is also a tissue of suppositions that does not seem to me to lead anywhere.

In her final chapter, Esposito Frank contrasts the "ahistorical veneration" of classical antiquity of Barbaro's contemporary and fellow Venetian, Giovanni Caldiera, and the no less ahistorical Christianizing of Pierre Bersuire's mediaeval *Ovidius Moralizatus* with the humanistically informed and more historical perspective of Barbaro, though I find her discussion here of Lorenzo Valla's supposed *theologia rhetorica* essentially gratuitous. Bartolomeo of Lendinara's allegorizing of pagan mythology fitted into this ahistorical tradition, but was all the more difficult to countenance because he was a popular preacher and authoritative doctor of theology. Esposito Frank connects fra Bartolomeo's outlook with the preaching of the Franciscans and their tendency to rely in their sermons on exempla and stories to make their points at the expense of scripture. She cites the celebrated contemporary preachers Roberto of Lecce, Bernardino of Siena, and Roberto Caracciolo as conspicuous instances of this transformation of the sermon from scriptural exegesis to the allegorical and moralizing explanation of *exempla ficta*, filled with histrionics and even stage props. For her, Barbaro's *Orationes* were a protest reflecting a critical historical attitude "of a Vallian stamp" against the misuse of pagan sources for Christian purposes by contemporary preachers (125–126). This is an alluring and innovative thesis; and there is no question that Barbaro belonged in the demythologizing humanistic camp. She may be right on a subconscious and perhaps even conscious level, but it has to be said that the *Orationes* contain no overt suggestion that Barbaro was attacking the contemporary mode of preaching. And, as I have already suggested, the stress on Valla is not needed to explain Barbaro's demythologizing attitude.

In sum, Esposito Frank has written an admirably learned and stimulating work. I think her learning sometimes led her to pull in extraneous sources, but the work as a whole is an important contribution to our understanding of the relationship of religion and humanism in the Quattrocento.

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Cohen, Elizabeth S. and Thomas V. Cohen. *Daily Life in Renaissance Italy.* Westport, CT and London, UK: The Greenwood Press, 2001. Pp. xiv, 316. ISBN 0-31330426-2. US.$ 19.95.

In this volume, Elizabeth and Thomas Cohen present an engaging and wide-ranging study of everyday life in the palaces, houses, and hovels of early modern Italy. As part of the Greenwood Press's "Daily Life" series, this book will serve admirably as a social history textbook, particularly given its intermingling of historiography with original research.

Cohen and Cohen begin with fundamentals; they define each of the terms in the book's title ("daily life," "Renaissance," and "Italy") in an effort to erase any preconceptions a student might have about the history of this Mediterranean peninsula. "Renaissance" is perhaps the stickiest of these terms, and since Cohen and Cohen use it in a strictly temporal sense, their Renaissance is naturally different from the traditional Burckhardtian understanding of blossoming individuality, which they call an overstated cliché. Indeed, by comparison, the Cohens develop a persuasively rich and organic definition of Renaissance individualism which they link to networks of kith and kin, social institutions and hierarchies, all of which provided room for agency and "nuanced self-expression" (87). Agency, agonism, and the exigencies of honour take the foreground in this depiction of Renaissance Italians. Cohen and Cohen paint an image of a deeply familiar (or 'face-to-face') society, one that saw honour as a "conservative" ethic (99), allowing Italians to preserve the delicate bonds holding families, friends, and society together. At the same time, honour was constantly threatened by pervasive, uncontrollable, and often unexpected forces and so teetered in fragile balance between conservation and ruination. The question of early modern honour is clearly important in the Cohens' treatment of Italian social history, though it is only one of many issues they treat in such a way as to address the existing historiography while also adding valuable new impulses to current debates.

Daily Life in Renaissance Italy confronts the reader with a society that is at once familiar and foreign. Cohen and Cohen provide a number of primary-document vignettes that illustrate the people, topics, and issues under discussion. One such vignette (33) profiles Ginevra Rossi, the wife of a Roman candy-maker, who miscarried her baby and later died after competitors of her husband Guglielmo arranged a surprise guild inspection of their candy shop during the Christmas rush, forcing Ginevra to climb up and down stairs, dragging crates and boxes before the inspectors. Claiming that the strain of the inspection precipitated his wife's death, Guglielmo took his competitors to court, asking 500 scudi to compensate for his wife's care of children and shop, 2000 scudi for her skill as a candy maker, and 4000 scudi for her beloved companionship. The story rings with pathos while at the same time it illustrates several facets of a Renaissance artisan's family workshop. Many of these vignettes will similarly catch the reader's interest and, in the context of the Cohens' arguments and insights, will offer an opportunity for students to think critically about history. This book works consistently to encourage students new to premodern history to interact thoughtfully with the

past, to question their modern assumptions, and to approach Renaissance Italy from interesting and provocative perspectives.

One of the great accomplishments of social and cultural history in the past thirty years has been to facilitate the confluence of multiple theoretical and methodological approaches to early modern Europe. The Cohens, both of whom have contributed significantly to the historiography of early modern Italy, make intelligent use of a variety of approaches in this book. Typical of this text is its ability to synthesize many of these strands in a chapter such as "Dangers," in which the authors treat the varieties of forces that threatened the existence of early modern Italians from the supernatural to the natural to the man-made. *Daily Life in Renaissance Italy* examines the basic structures of society in chapters called "Who Was Who," "Family and Other Solidarities," and "Hierarchies." The analyses informed by anthropological concepts are fresh and readable, illuminating Italian society from peasant to prince. Cohen and Cohen treat 'high' and 'low' with careful attention to the peculiarities of social difference, but also with a keen sense of interaction between all levels of society. The book also dedicates two chapters to 'life cycles,' tracing the lives of Renaissance Italians from cradle to grave. The division between the two chapters comes at marriage, when the privileges and responsibilities of adulthood finally eclipse the comparably carefree years of youth. The authors offer more detailed treatments of related topics in chapters on "Moralities," "Keeping Order," and "Media, Literacy, and Schooling."

Readers of this book will also encounter chapters dealing with "Spaces," "Time," "Houses, Food, and Clothing," "Disease and Healing," "Work," and "Play," all topics that infrequently find their way into textbooks of the Italian Renaissance (though they are much needed), and suit the purview of this book very well. The authors are obviously familiar with the important new work currently being undertaken in these fields of study; it is encouraging to see such themes so comfortably incorporated into the Cohens' vision of the Renaissance. Theirs is a vision many readers will enjoy both for its enthusiasm and its efforts to enlist students in the critical and imaginative work of Renaissance history, "a rich adventure of the mind" (297).

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King. Catherine. *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy (c. 1300-1550).* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998. Pp. 272. ISBN 0-7190-5289-0 pbk.

The matter of patronage in the making of culture continues today to be a major driving force, functioning, as it does, under diverse guises — philanthropy, commissions, sponsorship, bequests, donations, to name a few. Much is known on the subject of male patronage in relation to powerful Italian mediaeval and Renaissance families. Catherine King, through her attentive research, sheds new light on the role of women in this important cultural promotional activity. Her

study identifies the main lay and ruling women patrons, the nature and character of their commissions, as well as the reception of their works. The author purports to "pursue the historical debate concerning the way in which Italian laywomen experienced the 'Renaissance', and what artistic contribution they themselves were able to make to it" (2). By involving buyers, users, critical beholders of art and patrons, King makes the important point that authorship of representations and buildings belongs not to the makers, the artists exclusively. Then, as in our times, the discerning consumer—and women played a significant role—was also the determinant of the product's success. This study eminently fills a visible lacuna on diverse aspects of patronage, shedding light on conventions of behaviour that deeply influenced human relations and transactions in a field that belonged very exclusively to men. It was men in fact, who lay down in handbooks on conduct a range of advice on the behaviour appropriate to wives and widows. Women referred to these written guides in order to carry out commissions that were mandated in family wills, or which had been left unfinished by husbands or fathers at their moment of death. There were also bolder wives, widows, daughters, however, who at times wished to move away from or modify traditional norms in order to achieve more accurately the tomb or building, the painting or sculpture that had been entrusted to them to commission or sponsor. Thus in time, women aided in continuing an important tradition of patronage, but also assisted in its transformation.

Organized in ten well documented and abundantly illustrated chapters, this study addresses the origins of some main pictorial and architectural works from early Trecento to the high Renaissance in Italy, north of Rome. In considering the sorts of lay and ruling women capable of commissioning, the author takes into consideration contemporary social structures in which women operated, and presents a range of documented case-studies upon which much of the research rests. Since women's marital status was the determining factor permitting patronage and sponsorship, the bulk of the research centres upon wives, Chapter 2, and widows, Chapters 3-7. Wives, whose legal guardian was expected to be their husbands, might elect to commission works of art for the salvation of their soul: Chapter 2, for example, dwells at length on the case of a wife, a childless heiress who built a hospital, a convent, and a church, while a wife with three sons completed a commission begun by her father for his funerary chapel, adapting it, however, to suit her own descendants. What could be commissioned or built by women, whether wives or widows, was determined by a number of external factors: women living in different areas of the peninsula were expected to order objects depending on the political regime in power and the traditions maintained there; women commissioning jointly, or in a collaborative venture had restricted choice on account of lack of individual wealth; women who commissioned for 'living saints'—*sante vive*, on the other hand, were accorded great latitude; women who, respecting social conventions, adhered more closely to the private sphere, commissioned for the house, not for the public sphere such as monuments, churches, chapels, or decorations of these.

The third chapter, concerned with "Widows and the Law," outlines the legal confines within which they could move and had to act with sagacity if their independence and patrimony were to survive. As a rule, the family impressed upon the

widow the desirability to make art for family commemoration (tombs, monuments, busts), rather than as a public good (chapels, church doors, decorative murals for public buildings). Chapter 4 considers the situation of widows who did not act while alive, but posthumously through detailed orders in wills or contracts negotiated with artists. These were perhaps the weakest circumstances of commissions by women since, though widows thought of ingenious ways to have their wishes carried out after death, they were not present to respond pragmatically to the commission as it developed. Cases of widows in control of their commissions during their lifetimes are studied in Chapter 5. Many widows with disposable capital fulfilled the role expected of them, that of commemorating their husbands, sons, and even male in-laws, as opposed to widows who put their own spiritual concerns first (Chapter 6), commissioning in their own lifetimes pieces bearing their own votive portraits with the hope of salvation. Women able to play more assertive roles in decision-making, would often place inscriptions rather than portraits on their commissioned works (Chapter 7). Examples of special cases involving unique or large commissions are given in Chapters 8-10: Chapter 8 illustrates cases of group patronage deriving at times, from all-female sororities or other organizations to which laywomen often belonged; Chapter 9 is dedicated exclusively to women—whether as individuals or groups—who were relatives of 'living saints' (eventually to be canonized), and therefore were enabled to commission objects in honour of their female relatives.

The concluding chapter studies a single case, that of the commission by Donna Margarita Pellegrini of a funerary chapel for her son and herself from the celebrated architect, Michele Sanmichele, at San Bernardino in Verona. Donna Margarita, a widow, could afford to build from the foundations, and oversaw the entire commission personally "over nearly three decades" (229). Catherine King calls to mind the broad critical literature, which through the centuries has highlighted the exceptional character of this building—an elaborate chapel such as was conventionally commissioned only by rich and powerful men like Pope Julius II or Cardinal Giulio de' Medici. The Pellegrini chapel exemplifies, in fact, the reach and scope of which wealthy women were capable: "The fact that this centrally-planned chapel was commissioned by a woman meant that it was designed differently; and because it was so innovative and perfectionist, it threatened to disrupt contemporary notions of women as passive rather than leading in thought, and as imperfect rather than capable of initiating an exquisite design" (232). Sanmichele himself benefited from Donna Margarita's commission since in the long journey toward the chapel's accomplishment his reputation was confirmed, and he received several prestigious commissions from the city.

In this study King not only investigates the difficult and little documented field of women patrons of the arts, but also provides an eloquent snapshot of the social and economic obstacles confronting women in relation to creating an artistic heritage in early-modern Italy. In early fifteenth-century Florence, for example, "about a quarter of women" were widows, classed as *miserabili*, "old, indigent and dependent," too poor to be taxed (76-77); widows were required to have legal guardians when not living in large centres such as Venice, Genoa, Verona, Rome

(82). Little is known about women's patronage because self-identification on commissioned works was often not permitted: "Widows did not draw attention to themselves by including portraits on votive images," and "the opportunity to place her image on a large item of church embellishment, visible to all, was not often granted a widow" (184-85). And what of courtesans as patrons? King notes that documented evidence of their patronage is scant; but in northern Italy records are abundant of their commissioning funerary chapels for themselves, owning their earnings, beautiful homes, and being free of legal guardians. Patronage, the creation and consumption of art, and architecture, then, was an essentially gendered activity, embracing all levels of economic and social standings. Though women as patrons only rarely worked with artists of Vasarian reach and scope, King argues that there remains, notwithstanding, a great deal to be discovered about the numerous, perhaps less stellar makers of Italian culture, whose works grace canvases, churches, cemeteries, and cities.

Women with disposable capital have played a very real role of leadership in this historical period in the broad definition of art history as it related to makers, buyers and users of art, as well as to later collectors and cultural consumers. For our own century when increasingly more women have disposable income, King offers inspiring examples of how Italy's lay and ruling women created indelible artistic imprints. This study makes a signal contribution by bringing to light the social religious and legal situations in which women could participate in the making of art and architecture, an area of research which has vast implications for students of art and cultural history, gender, and Italian studies.

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Dolce's "Aretino" and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento, ed. and trans. Mark W. Roskill. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000. Pp. 354. ISBN 0-8020-8333-1.

The reprint of Mark Roskill's full-scale critical edition of Lodovico Dolce's *Aretino* is a felicitous occurrence for Italian Renaissance studies. Even though the editor begins the Preface by saying that inevitably, "three decades after its first appearance, my edition of Dolce's *Aretino* calls for some emendation or revision of emphasis"(vii), the volume has definitely stood the test of time well enough to warrant a second edition with relatively minor revisions. The new Preface contains references to more recent studies (of the last thirty years or so) related to rhetoric, dialogue, painting technique, etc.

Roskill engages such terms as "grazia," "sprezzatura," "ingegno," among others in order to clarify imprecision. For example, he corrects any possible misinterpretation regarding "energia" and "enargeia."

> The term *energia*, which I translated as "dynamism" (128f.), represents in fact a technical term in rhetorical theory, meaning an emphasis on the force of effective detail, that lends itself to hyperbole. (viii)

This concept is key to much debate regarding the Renaissance dialogue as well, in particular with later theorists such as Torquato Tasso, so the attempt to add precision to the term(s) is a good indication of the editor's far-reaching interest and scholarship. There are many such examples in the Preface (vii-xiii) but it should suffice to say that from the topos of humility that opens it to the closing exhortation that "[o]ther similar errors of my youth may be left for the reader to catch" (xiii), Mark Roskill has thoroughly looked over his edition of 1968.

It is left for us to discover why a second edition of this particular work is necessary. To begin, the 1557 dialogue by Lodovico Dolce, the Venetian *poligrafo* who rubbed elbows with men of high intellectual and artistic merit, may be seen as an interesting portrait of mid-sixteenth-century Venice itself. As with many works of art of this period, the art and artifice (or the attempted art of concealing art, *sprezzatura*, as it were) are worthy indications of its value. While some reasons for this research are presented in the original Preface (1-4), much more in-depth information is offered in the Introduction (5-61). Roskill tells us in his unaltered Introduction that "[f]rom inspection of a cross section of Dolce's output, one gains a picture of his intellectual personality, which has no great attractiveness or strength" (6). In terms of the intellectual content, Roskill declares the following:

> The philosophy included in the Dialogue does not require any lengthy analysis. What appears here and there in the way of metaphysical argument consists, generally speaking, of a weak compound of Platonism and Aristotelianism (10).

Nonetheless, Dolce was still among illustrious company and corresponded with many other intellectual and artistic heavyweights. It is precisely through his company and consequent engagement in such topical discussions as the *disegno* vs. *colore* debate, as well as the literary and linguistic discussions of the period that the dialogue becomes relevant. As Roskill points out, the *Aretino* is typical of the dialogue of the period in that it draws inspiration from antiquity (principally from Cicero) and contemporary sources. As analysed in the Preface, among the contemporary sources is Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (hence, the reference to *sprezzatura*) and, of course, many works by Pietro Aretino (24-34). Since it is a book about contemporary artistic issues, contemporary references will abound. Not only will there be ample mention of Raphael, Tintoretto, Michelangelo, Titian, and Giorgio Vasari but also the *de rigeur* references to contemporary literature and the parallels between the two arts. It is not by chance that the interlocutors are Pietro Aretino, a philo-Venetian poet, dialogist and dramatist, and the Florentine grammarian Giovan Francesco Fabrini.

Needless to say, with such a mingling of literature and painting in the dialogue, Roskill must pay careful attention to his own translation, especially since he chose to have the original text on the facing page. Despite the difficulty of the task, especially regarding the translation of verse, he claims to have enjoyed the experience (1). As an example, we turn to the following passage in which, with reference to Lodovico Ariosto, Dolce has Aretino say:

> Con bionda chioma lunga, & annodata:
> Oro non è, che più risplenda e lustri.

> Poteva l'Ariosto nella guisa, che ha detto chioma bionda, dir chioma d'oro: ma gli parve forse, che avrebbe avuto troppo del Poetico. Da che si puo ritrar, che 'l Pittore dee imitar l'oro, e non metterlo (come fanno i Miniatori) nelle sue Pitture, in modo, che si possa dire, que' capelli non sono d'oro, ma par che risplendano, come l'oro: il che se ben non è cosa degna di avvertimento, pur piacemi averla tocca. (132)

The translation is rendered thus:

> *Her long blond hair was knotted – there could be*
> *No gold which gleamed with greater radiancy.*

> Ariosto could well have written "golden hair," instead of saying "blond hair" in the way he did; but perhaps he thought that this expression would have had too poetic a ring. One can deduce from this that a painter ought to imitate gold, and not (as miniature painters do) actually include it in his pictures—thereby enabling one to say that, while this hair is not *made* of gold, its shine does give it the *appearance* of gold. This may not be a point worth noticing, but I am pleased all the same to have touched on it. (133)

The translation is clear and understandable, rendered in a realistic English. However, as the author himself feared, at times the verse is translated with more difficulty. This becomes evident in a verse of Ariosto's quoted in the *Letter of Dolce to Gasparo Ballini.* Here, Ariosto's "Michel piu, che mortal, Angel Divino" (200) is translated as "Michael called Angel, godlike superman!" (201). These infelicities are very minor potential drawbacks in an otherwise superlative edition.

The *Aretino* is rather important as a compendium of popular knowledge related to painting and literature and, while never presuming to rank among the philosophical dialogues of the era, it does engage in popular debates and exhibits a certain familiarity with current trends. It also exerted a certain amount of influence at the time and with subsequent writers. This is borne out by the very useful "Appendix A," subtitled "The subsequent history and influence of the Dialogue" (63-73). Its companion, "Appendix B," "On artistic relations between Venice and Central Italy, 1500-1557" (75-82), completes the picture of the importance of the text. What follows is the lengthy Text and Translation of *The Dialogue on Painting* (83-195), the *Dedicatory letter of the Dialogue* (196-199), the *Letter of Dolce to Gasparo Ballini* (pp. 200-211) and the *Letter of Dolce to Alessandro Contarini* (212-217). Comprehensive and helpful commentaries on the dialogue (pp. 219-341) and the letters (341-351) round out the volume. The book closes with a section outlining the abbreviations used (353-354).

Mark Roskill's new edition of Lodovico Dolce's *Aretino* is an example of sound research that has stood the test of time yet still benefits from a constructive dialogue with the present. Its user-friendly quality for non-experts and/or non-Italian speakers does not detract in any way from its scholarship. This is a wonderful edition that merits broad praise.

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Weaver, Elissa B. *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Pp. xiv, 304. ISBN 0-521-55082-3. Hardback, US.$ 65.00.

Elissa Weaver enjoys a well-deserved reputation as a respected scholar whose scholarship is thorough and instructive. Weaver's recent work, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women* is no exception. Directing her study largely to Tuscany, Weaver discusses an extensive body of convent theatrical works as she chronicles the life of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century nuns whose creative labours include the production and presentation of theatre intended to teach and entertain their convent sisters.

Elissa Weaver not only reveals the extent of the artistic activities of these nuns, she also offers glimpses of interesting, independent women who, although cloistered, managed to keep apprised of contemporary trends in Renaissance theatre as well as develop and present their own productions in step with current theatrical fashion. The somewhat malleable boundaries of monastery walls existed because these daughters of the church were never entirely disconnected from the secular life around them. Commerce was carried on as goods were delivered and collected at their portal and lay women made frequent calls to visit daughters or other relatives in the convents. These visitors also attended theatrical productions presented by the nuns. Some lay women enjoyed sojourns within the monasteries for spiritual retreat or rest. Weaver explains that convents were an important part of the urban landscape. By the fifteenth century many of the convents that previously had stood outside city walls had moved inside for safety. With the establishment of new convent houses their population expanded throughout Italy. Weaver notes that in 1552 women religious accounted for 11.5 to 13 percent of the female population of the city of Florence; the number of patrician women within convent walls was much higher.

In chapter two Weaver looks at the convent theatre tradition noting that the custom of presentation of plays in convents and monasteries is an old one. Among the examples given are the plays of the canoness Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim (c. 935-c. 973). Like nuns elsewhere, Italian nuns seem to have been drawn to the *laude drammatiche*, and the *sacre rappresentazioni* from the beginning of the tradition. This chapter includes a fascinating discussion of the exhaustive stage directions included in the script of *La Commedia di Judit*, an anonymous sixteenth-century Judith play. Staging notes provide detailed descriptions of what Judith should wear along with the reason for each item of her costume. Movement for the actress playing Judith is also choreographed: "she should walk with a solemn, decorous, and chaste gait ..."

Weaver keeps her inquiring eye trained largely on the creative aspects of these nuns, providing an illuminating examination of their theatre, how they staged plays, arranged funding and about the works of certain convent women playwrights such as Antonia Tannini Pulci and Beatrice del Sera. Readers familiar with Beatrice del Sera through Weaver's earlier work on *Amor di Virtù* will enjoy reading further about the nun and playwright in chapter three. Beatrice del Sera was two years old when she entered the convent and remained there until her death. If the word "feminist" were in use in the fifteenth/sixteenth century it would sure-

ly apply to Beatrice del Sera. In *Amor di Virtù*, del Sera has a character, Aurabea-trice, protest against the isolation and confinement of women. Weaver tells us that "the grim opening of the manuscript introduces the author and the theme most central to the play, the unjust treatment of women." Another character in the plays declares "they are women not pictures to hang on a wall." Weaver observes that del Sera's message is clear: "women have been put in the convent and left there, as one hangs a picture and need not think of it again."

Weaver does not ignore the Church's reactions to the theatrical aspirations of the nuns, and in some cases, their opposition to what the clergy deemed to be a con-flict between their creative activities and their role as women religious. For instance, the nuns resisted orders to cease theatrical presentations in which they wore men's clothing, mustaches and beards to portray various male roles in plays. Even the most sombre reader may smile at the image of these nuns sporting mustaches and beards.

Chapter five, follows various plays and authors from "manuscript to print, from the convent to the world" providing an informative examination of the develop-ment of various women writers who were receiving "serious notice from the outside world." One such example was Maria Clemente Ruoti, who in 1649 became the first woman and only nun to be inducted into the Florentine Academy of the Apatisti. In chapter six, the concluding chapter, Weaver moves beyond Tuscany to look at how convent theatre flourished in the rest of the Italian peninsula and points beyond: probably in all Catholic Europe and in the New World colonies.

Some may question Weaver's frequent use of the term "young boys" referring to presentations by confraternity members (18, 51, 52, 63, 73). It has been suggested by others that in the Italian Renaissance the term "youth" seemed to include men as old as age thirty-five (Ilaria Taddei, "*Puerizia, Adolescenza,* and *Giovinezza*" in *The Premodern Teenager,* Toronto: CRRS, 2002). However, this is a small issue that does not detract at all from this illuminating text that will clearly be of interest to scholars in disciplines as diverse as History, Women's Studies, Art History, Renaissance stud-ies, and Italian as well as the study of religion—the latter because Weaver offers important insights into relations between the early modern church, lay piety and sec-ular society. *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy* clearly demonstrates how theatre was an important part of convent life that provided education and entertainment for many nuns and for the female members of their families.

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Black, Robert. *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy. Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the twelfth to the Fifteenth Century.* Cambridge, UK and New York. Cambridge University Press, 2001. Pp. xiv, 489. ISBN: 0-5214-0192-5.

In this book, Robert Black presents a study of the Latin curriculum of mediaeval and Renaissance Italy in its widest purview in order to show how the majority of those who learned Latin in this period actually did so at the elementary and sec-ondary levels. He suggests that, to understand Renaissance education in practice,

one must look at the mediaeval traditions that lay behind it, account for the extant manuscript sources when available, and make sure not to impose possibly misleading interpretive schemata when one arrives at the Quattrocento (such as "humanism versus scholasticism," which, as Black points out, is to compare university level education with pre-university learning).

Chapter two deals with the elementary school curriculum throughout the Middle Ages. Here, and in the next two chapters, Black moves chronologically with great erudition, which allows him to take account of the moment when people realized not only that Latin was no longer a native language, but had to be taught as a non-native language. The *Ianua*, a work attributed to Donatus, actually "owed its birth to dissatisfaction in the early middle ages with Donatus's *Ars minor*" (45), which had been written with native speakers in mind, using the principles of Priscianic parsing grammars. This was, as Black points out, "not a quick route to Latinity" (48); the different extant manuscripts of this work present numerous variations, reflecting the fact that teachers tended to adapt it as they saw fit, eventually changing some sections from prose into verse, owing to the prominence (in the secondary curriculum) of Alexander of Villedieu's and Evrard of Bethune's verse grammars. By the fifteenth century, the *Ianua* became not a manual for teaching grammar, but a final reading text for students who would no longer study Latin.

The third chapter treats the secondary grammar curriculum, and here Alexander and Evrard are the key figures. Where Priscian had relied on the *consensus auctorum* to decide questions of usage, in the new environment of the twelfth century where logic was so highly valued rules had to be elaborated, as increasing dissatisfaction with Priscian led in 1199 to Alexander's *Doctrinale*, which Black calls "one of the most influential and innovatory works in the history of education" and "the first comprehensive and systematic grammar textbook (including syntax) to be composed explicitly for the secondary level" (74). The *Doctrinale* allowed the innovations of twelfth-century logic and language theory to be brought down to the level of the classroom; and Evrard's *Graecismus*, though less innovative, was also part of the anti-Priscianic movement among high medieval grammarians. For Black, the thirteenth century signals "the emergence of a distinctive Italian approach" (82) in which memory was not so paramount as in northern Europe, a contrast explained by Italy's increased urbanization and the concomitant need for a genre that taught the principles of the *Doctrinale*, but in prose. This signaled the emergence of an Italian genre known as the *Summa*; popular *summae* were composed by Pietro da Isolella and Bene da Firenze. The fourteenth century saw the increased use of local vernaculars, an obvious intent (on the part of Francesco da Buti, for example) to make Latin more accessible to an ever-increasing number of students, and a tendency to provide exercises in composition in the form of *themata*, vernacular sentences which were to be translated into Latin. Black reasonably suggests that this development was linked to the actual practices of members of the notariate, who needed "to be able to translate from the vernacular into Latin and vice versa for the benefit of their private clients and public employers" (112). Finally, for Black, the fifteenth century is "an era of failed reform" (124). The two most popular secondary grammar textbooks, of Guarino

Veronese and Niccolò Perotti, are "essentially indistinguishable from their medieval predecessors." (*loc. cit.*) Although some late fifteenth-century authors, most notably Pomponio Leto, attempted to reintroduce more classical authors into their texts and importantly to move away from the rule-oriented approach of the mediaeval tradition (buttressed as it was by the use of unclassical mnemonic verses), their efforts, to judge from surviving manuscripts, were unsuccessful.

Chapter four is again chronological, and here Black deals with the evolution of the canon of school authors, both minor and major. After the classicism of the twelfth century, Black finds that there was a marked decline in the use of the classics in thirteenth-century Italy. He attributes this change to the rise of Italian universities, concentrating on the notarial arts, law, and medicine, and suggests that these concerns trickled down into the secondary classroom. The fourteenth century, however, saw a change in fashion, as a pendulum-swing in taste reintroduced certain classical authors, a new move which Black believes must have been congenial to early humanists, but not a direct result of their efforts, since they were a relatively small, avant-garde movement. The fifteenth century did see some changes, though not, for Black, as significant as some have previously supposed. The minor authors remained in use, especially in the first half of the fifteenth century. For Black "The reintroduction of Cicero into the grammar schoolroom was a great achievement for fifteenth-century teachers, but it is clear that they found it more congenial and practicable to concentrate on texts which had once formed part of the medieval curriculum, albeit discussed since the beginning of the Duecento; moreover, the teaching of Cicero, even his most avant-garde works, could take place in remarkably traditional contexts." (270). By the late fifteenth century, the humanists' polemics finally had effects in actual curricula, but this is beyond Black's purview.

Chapter five deals with the way Latin authors were read in mediaeval and Renaissance Italian schools. From intensive examinations of manuscripts and their glosses, Black shows that the primary concerns of pupils were in line with what he terms "basic philology" (275). The glosses show that pupils did things like paraphrase difficult texts in simpler language, use interlinear glossing to recover the meanings of words, and employ word-order glosses to help learn the unfamiliar order of Latin. Black does not see a greatly augmented use of glossing to teach moral points in the Renaissance; rather, glossing remained primarily concerned with the basics of language.

In chapter six, Black examines the teaching of rhetoric and style. He begins with the order of the curriculum, beyond the obvious transition from the *auctores minores* to the *maiores*. Here, using an exceptionally detailed early fifteenth-century Florentine manuscript, he finds that literary reading of the minor and initial major authors "was interspersed with formal grammatical study" and that this process was accompanied by "a growing concentration on translation from vernacular into Italian" (335). Translation was intimately linked, of course, with questions of style. Here Black finds that the early thirteenth-century verse style manual of Geoffrey of Vinsauf, the *Poetria nova*, had a powerful legacy in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance, despite the fact that it was used in Italian schools to teach prose, not poetic composition. Its most important aspect was the notion of distinguishing between "ordo naturalis," or "natural" word order, like everyday

speech, and "ordo artificialis," or "artificial" word order, suitable for advanced stylistic composition. When Black arrives in the fifteenth century, and examines a famous treatise like the short *Elegantiolae* of Agostino Dati, he finds that this is the main kernel of the problem: as in the *Poetria nova*, once a pupil had learned basic grammar, he needed to know how to make the Latin language work for him in the needed contexts, which required attention to aspects of style, especially word order, that would not have been immediately apparent. Dati begins with a discussion of the differences of "grammatical style" and "ornate style," similar to Vinsauf's "ordo naturalis" and "ordo artificialis." Dati's innovations, and those of others, like Niccolò Perotti, have to do with the fact that they abandoned the abstract definitions of *ordo artificialis* common to the mediaeval tradition and instead used the consensus of ancient authors as their measuring rod.

In this book, Black has set an admirably high new benchmark for the study of mediaeval and Renaissance education; it is a book so important that it deserves debate and reflection, not just panegyric. At times, Black's critiques of earlier authors seem needlessly gratuitous, especially because they turn more on matters of theory than Black is willing to recognize. It may be true, as Black repeatedly maintains, that earlier scholars have mistaken some (at times loudly advertised) changes in educational theory for relatively immediate changes in pedagogical practice. But not all revolutions happen overnight. Eventually, the changes did occur; even if they occurred later, the memory of the innovations of the best humanists persisted. These innovations have to do, it is true, not primarily with the necessarily practical realm of classroom-level educational theory (which a moment's common-sense reflection would reveal as inherently conservative in most eras), but more so in the turn to a rhetoricized, consensus-oriented conception of philosophy from which truly significant ways of thinking about the world emerged. When Black writes regarding late medieval and Renaissance pupils' understanding of the Latin texts they were reading, that "whatever their glosses reveal constitutes the limit, not the minimum," of late mediaeval and Renaissance pupils' understanding of texts, he is certainly right regarding many pupils (25). But is it not a bit overstated to imply that this written evidence is the only sort of evidence on which one can draw? For example, if, as Black admits, Cicero's works were in broad terms reintroduced into secondary curricula in the fifteenth century, are we really to think that *only* glosses in the school manuscripts are a measure of the sorts of mental changes those works eventually engendered in some— though of course not all—pupils? And Black does have some relatively clear preferences of his own; his high mediaeval theorists tend to be "comprehensive," "systematic," and "logical," whereas humanism and humanists tend to be "militant," "pretentious," "self-promoting," and ultimately inefficacious. In other words, it seems as if Black's focus on the practice of children's education has made him sidestep the issue of the long-term importance of Renaissance humanism, for which one needs to look beyond the period itself, understanding that the history of the rhetorical tradition is a part of, not subordinate to, the history of philosophy. These sorts of cavils, however, really are matters of perspective, and do not detract from Black's remarkable achievement. Black set out to illuminate the way Latin

was both taught and learned at the elementary and secondary level in mediaeval and Renaissance Italy, and he has done so *con brio*. To read this fine book is to enrich one's knowledge, to broaden one's perspective, and to be introduced to a tremendously wide range of sources which have never before been showcased, understood, and utilized so effectively.

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Witt, Ronald. *'In the Footsteps of the Ancients': The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*. Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2000. Pp. xiii,562. ISBN 9-0041-1397-5. (Hardbound); 0-3910-4202-5. (Paper). Euros 48.70; US $ 49.95.

For a number of reasons, Ronald Witt's impressive study of the origins of Italian humanism, *'In the Footsteps of the Ancients': The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*, will likely remain at the centre of discussions of Italian humanism in the future. Witt has undertaken a substantial revision of previous scholarly opinion on this subject, one that will require that we rethink some of the fundamental assumptions that have hitherto guided the historiography of humanism. His most controversial and compelling argument seeks to displace Petrarch as the putative originator of humanism and to reject a construct that dominated the research of a previous generation of Italian scholars, one that asserted the existence of a "pre-humanism," largely Paduan in character, that was overshadowed by the Petrarchan enterprise and not fully "humanistic." Witt asserts instead that humanistic writers like Albertino Mussato and Lovato dei Lovati, as well as a substantial number of more minor figures, constituted an important group of "lay intellectuals" (1) whose influence can be felt as far into the future as the careers of Coluccio Salutati and Leonardo Bruni. Here Witt places special emphasis on Lovato, a Paduan humanist whose early poetry of the 1260s "began the process of putting certain rare authors and texts backs in circulation" (100). Witt argues that humanism grew out of grammatical rather than rhetorical studies and that the study and imitation of classical poetry in many ways define the character of Italian humanism in its original phases, pursuits that developed naturally as advanced stages of grammatical inquiry. He reminds us in this context that Petrarch's earliest efforts at imitating ancient authors were poetic in nature and that Petrarch should in general be distinguished from earlier Italian humanists whose work was more abidingly secular in nature. While a distinctly Petrarchan humanism, profoundly ethical in content and fused with Christian elements, became enormously influential on later humanists, Witt makes a strong case for the importance of a more secular form of humanism that preceded Petrarch's career.

The second major revision that Witt proposes to our understanding of the humanist movement places stylistics at the heart of the humanist enterprise. A number of important points are made by Witt in this context: first, the influence of Seneca's works on Paduan humanism becomes a more central fact of this early, "sec-

ular" phase of the humanist movement and secondly, the decline of French influence on the Italian poetic tradition now becomes important negative evidence for Witt's claim that in Lovato we are now confronted with a genuinely humanist author (he is, Witt boldly asserts, "the founder of Italian humanism" [78]). In some ways, the central point of Witt's entire study—or at least the one that scholars will have to contend with the most—is that humanism represented a new cultural and literary style more than it did a shift in curricular orientation, the latter interpretation being the one most closely associated with the book's dedicatee, Paul Oskar Kristeller. Arguing that the rhetorical orientation of Florentine humanism in the early Quattrocento was but one thread of a more complex and inclusive pattern of classical imitation, Witt presents an interpretation of Italian humanism that no longer depends upon a teleological model of development that would require us to lionize the achievements of Bruni and his generation, substantial though they may have been. While classical oratory was clearly a central feature of humanism by this time, it is by no means the whole story of the humanist enterprise, and Witt's study helps to enrich and deepen our understanding of humanism as a comprehensive, linguistically rooted shift in orientation that had more global effects, both cognitive and affective in nature, on the shaping of early modern consciousness.

While these two arguments, the first one concerning humanism's chronology and origin, the second one centering on the defining characteristic of style, are certainly the most innovative among Witt's observations, there are many lesser but equally exciting and refreshing ideas advanced in this rewarding volume. One might point to Witt's reevaluation of the importance of Giovanni Malpaghini as a source of influence on the young Bruni and other humanists of the early fifteenth century, or the suggestion that by the fifteenth century humanism had become a "status commodity" (447) as well as an instrument of moral instruction, or the many close readings of humanist Latin that analyse patterns of *cursus* and other literary and rhetorical effects, or the closing remark that the humanist absorption of Latin culture did not occur "all at once" but should more accurately be seen as "a conquest of successive Latin literary genres, beginning with poetry" (497). In refusing to be content with comfortable or risk-averse generalizations, Witt's ample and expansive study of Italian humanism will certainly complicate the future of scholarship, but it is the sort of complication much to be desired.

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Di Maria, Salvatore. *The Italian Tragedy in The Renaissance. Cultural Realities and Theatrical Innovations.* Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press/London, Asssociated University Presses, 2001. Pp. 272. ISBN 0-8387-5490-2. US.$ 46.50.

Scopo di questo volume è quello di seguire l'invito di Marco Ariani nel rivalutare la tragedia italiana del Rinascimento, ma non solo, perché per Di Maria manca ancora una chiara prospettiva delle novità letterarie e teatrali che caratterizzano la tragedia rinascimentale italiana. In maniera specifica manca, sostiene l'autore,

un'opera che parli del teatro tragico del '500 come foro di discussioni per problemi politici riguardanti il sistema di governo e le problematiche relative alle donne. Pochi infatti hanno dedicato i loro studi sull'argomento (Ferdinando Neri, Marvin Herrick e Carmelo Musumarra) e così Di Maria si prefigge questa impresa per rivendicare alla letteratura italiana un proprio prestigio per la "tragedia" oscurata dal continuo paragone con le opere tragiche francesi e inglesi. L'opera di Di Maria si divide in due parti: *Renaissance Cultural Realities* comprende cinque capitoli, mentre la seconda parte *(Theatrical Innovations)* si stende su tre segmenti.

Nel capitolo 1 della Prima Parte ("The Making of Italian Renaissance Tragedy") l'autore afferma che la diffusione della *Poetica* di Aristotele e dell'*Arte Poetica* di Orazio contribuì alla guida e all'autorità formale degli autori tragici italiani, ma né Trissino né Rucellai seguirono pedissequamente Aristotele, specie per la legge dell'unità di luogo. Per Di Maria l'onore di aver ripristinato la tragedia sulla scena va a G. B. Giraldi Cinzio con l'*Orbecche*. Anche se esisteva una ripresa delle tragedie greche e romane, il canone dell'imitazione, diceva Castelvestro, doveva apparire un processo dinamico che portava alla creazione di un'opera diversa dalla fonte. Scopo del teatro era quello d'insegnare non il "giusto" o l'"ingiusto" ma incoraggiare gli spettatori a riflettere, valutare e definire i valori e le nozioni morali, politiche, religiose e sociali delle loro istituzioni.

Il capitolo secondo ("Renaissance Living Traditions and the Revival of Ancient Tragedy") verte sul bisogno di italianizzare il teatro antico, come asserisce il Trissino, per renderlo comprensibile e interessante agli spettatori. Di Maria si sofferma sulle innovazioni relative alla lunghezza del testo drammatico, allo spazio scenico e della Corte e ai briganti e ai pirati evocanti la pericolosità dell'ambiente in cui l'uditorio cinquecentesco viveva.

Il capitolo terzo ("Their Gods, Our God: Christian Religion in the Tragic World of Myth") tratta di religione e laicità. Il dilemma fu abbastanza serio per gli autori rinascimentali che insistevano sulla verosimiglianza come mezzo per coinvolgere l'uditorio, mentre, allo stesso tempo, si guardava al teatro antico come fonte d'ispirazione e *auctoritas*. Seguendo la poetica di "vestire" la tragedia classica in panni contemporanei, molti scrittori optarono verso la pratica di rivestire gli dei pagani con attributi cristiani.

Come il teatro italiano si evolveva in un dramma più laico nel Rinascimento, il divino assunse un ruolo meno cospicuo, come un riflesso del credere in un Dio in qualche modo remoto dagli eventi del mondo. Ciò rese facile per i commediografi rinascimentali seguire i precetti aristotelici per cui la trama della tragedia doveva evolversi secondo le proprie dinamiche interne e giungere ad una soluzione senza interferenze del soprannaturale. L'espediente del *deus ex machina* nella *Tullia* del Martelli e nell'*Orazia* dell'Aretino non rappresenta una contraddizione di quanto è stato detto, ma un riflesso di un cambio di prospettiva che la società rinascimentale nutriva verso la religione e gli dei.

Il capitolo quarto ("The Nature of Kingship: The Debate on Machiavellism") centra il problema politico della tragedia. Attraverso tutto il Cinquecento i precetti di Machiavelli sul principato dominarono tutte le forme di dibattito politico sia in Italia che fuori. Benché le tragedie si distinguessero per la loro originalità, tutte

sembravano approfondire il conflitto ideologico su tre punti: 1) natura e potenza dell'autorità reale; 2) nozione unica di stato o bene comune; 3) mezzi impiegati per difendere lo stato. Anche se esistevano trattati politici e un ben distinto genere letterario per argomenti riguardanti lo stato, il teatro drammatico fu, senza dubbio, l'unico foro per tale discussione. Tra le tragedie più note del Rinascimento italiano l'*Orbecche* del Giraldi offre il modello di dramma migliore sul dibattito relativo al sistema di governo. A quel tempo il teatro divenne infatti una forma di retorica del potere: la di-stinzione fra il "qui e ora" degli spettatori e il "là e allora" della scena permetteva al pubblico di recepire l'esperienza teatrale come un contrasto fra il possibile mondo del dramma e il proprio mondo reale.

Il capitolo cinque ("Tragic Heroines: The Debate on the Emerging Question of Women") si aggira sulla questione delle donne. È interessante notare che molte tragedie rinascimentali appaiono con il nome di donna nel titolo, come *Sofonisba, Rosmunda, Tullia, Orbecche, Orazia, Canace, Marianna, Adriana, Merope e Acripanda,* perché tali figure femminili furono eroine dal momento che scelsero di morire piuttosto che vivere sotto umilianti condizioni. La disputa sulla parità degli uomini e delle donne in società fu una delle più cocenti nel Rinascimento. Il merito va al Giraldi, al Trissimo e al Rucellai per aver diretto l'attenzione su questo argomento nella scena teatrale. Le donne furono rappresentate come vittime di una società patriarcale che le considerava inferiori all'uomo (in teatro il patriarca era spesso il Re), ma, nello stesso tempo, le donne erano eroine nel desiderio di morire per la loro libertà e dignità. Così il pubblico, di fronte a simili drammi, si trovava presente ad un dibattito tra un concetto tradizionale e moderno di femminilità.

Gli ultimi tre capitoli rappresentano la seconda parte dell'opera sulle innovazioni teatrali della tragedia rinascimentale. Il capitolo sesto ("The Evolving Concept of Stage and Dramatic Space") tende a dimostrare che un dramma non consiste solo di un codice verbale, ma di un testo teatrale che si esprime tramite suoni, movimenti, gesti, apparenza, dizione, tono di voce, dimensioni spaziali e altro. Impegnando gli spettatori sensoriamente, attraverso vista e suono, la percezione teatrale tende a stabilire tra le altre cose, un forte senso di vicinanza spaziale tra l'uditorio e la scena. Fu Vitruvio con il suo *De Architectura* a fornire l'impulso per un approccio innovativo della scena drammatica. Poi gli studi di Leon Battista Alberti, ispirato da Vitruvio, e del Perruzzi e del Prisciano formarono le basi dell'architettura teatrale del Rinascimento. Tra le tragedie più adatte per un approccio critico basato sulla funzione dello spazio drammatico e delle dinamiche spaziali l'*Orazia* dell'Aretino, dice Di Maria, è forse la scelta migliore perché è la tragedia più drammatica del Rinascimento sia in senso tematico che drammaturgico.

Nel capitolo settimo ("Representing the Unrepresentable: The Hic et Nunc of Tragedy") Di Maria spiega con esempi di tragedie di Groto, Giraldi e Aretino la tecnica dell' *hic et nunc.* È un espediente drammatico che permette un'effettiva sostituzione alla rappresentazione diretta di violenza, quando scene cruente e sanguinarie non erano considerate forme teatrali esteticamente accettabili. Consiste in questo: il tragico momento che gli spettatori stanno per contemplare è reso verbalmente sulla scena tramite le ultime parole o grida della vittima, la descrizione della violenza da parte di un testimone e l'ammissione verbale di chi commette il delitto.

L'ultimo capitolo ("The Theatrical Language of Sounds and Movements") discute la semiotica del teatro cioè i suoni, le voci e tutti i movimenti fisici dei personaggi teatrali sulla scena. Più che altri teorici rinascimentali, secondo Di Maria, fu Sebastiano Serlio a sottolineare la virtù comunicativa dei segni sulla scena, e l'*Oreste* di Rucellai fu il pezzo teatrale più appropriato per tali considerazioni.

Per un commento critico generale dell'opera di Di Maria, ritengo che lo studioso abbia raggiunto il suo scopo, cioè quello di fornire agli studiosi di teatro e ai non specialisti un volume completo di consultazione sulla tragedia italiana del Rinascimento nonché una trattazione nuova, originale e ancora mancante sull'argomento. Con chiarezza e documentazione vastissima il Di Maria ha sottolineato punti fondamentali della tragedia italiana del '500 apportando esempi cogenti e numerosi. Molto valida e lodevole mi pare la seconda parte dell'opera sulle innovazioni teatrali relative all'architettura e al linguaggio scenografico del teatro italiano.

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Poeti del Cinquecento. vol. 1. *Poeti lirici, burleschi, satirici e didascalici,* eds. Guglielmo Gorni, Massimo Danzi, Silvia Longhi, Milano-Napoli: Ricciardi, 2001. Pp. 1210. ISBN 8-878170-04-6.

Poeti del Cinquecento è il ventitreesimo volume della serie "Letteratura Italiana Storia e Testi" di Ricciardi. Si tratta del primo della prevista serie di tre tomi: un secondo in preparazione contenente la poesia di Della Casa, Varchi e altri fiorentini a cura di Giuliano Tanturli, di Vittoria Colonna e Antonio Minturno a cura di Giovanni Bardazzi; un terzo tomo in progetto con il lavoro di Giovanni Parenti sui poeti neolatini commentati e tradotti a fronte degli originali. L'introduzione di Gorni (XI- XXIX) ci informa della storia editoriale lunga e travagliata del volume, gravato da lunghi anni di ritardo. I curatori se ne scusano e in parte fanno ammenda: per le sezioni da lei curate, Silvia Loghi inserisce un'aggiunta bibliografica aggiornata fino al 1997. Rispetto alla classica edizione dei *Poeti del Duecento* curata da Contini nella stessa serie, che consta di solo due volumi, il progetto di ben tre volumi per la poesia del Cinquecento richiede una giustificazione; i compilatori si ritengono persuasi che "la poesia del Cinquecento in sonetti, canzoni e capitoli sia un genere d'importanza storica, proponibile ancora con abbondanza ai lettori contemporanei" (XX). Tale importanza storica è evidenziata da alcune scelte che si distanziano dalla tradizione antologica finora seguita per la lirica del Cinquecento e che metteremo in luce in seguito.

Entro le diciassette sezioni del volume, Gorni individua due figure centrali: Pietro Bembo e Michelangelo Buonarroti; del primo si presenta l'intero canzoniere, mentre del secondo si offre una scelta antologica. A nostro giudizio, oltre a queste due figure centrali, va aggiunta anche quella di Francesco Berni che, come maestro di genere comico, fondatore dello stile bernesco, e unico altro autore nel volume di cui si propone l'intera produzione di *Rime*, merita il titolo di protagonista della poesia del Cinquecento, come del resto Silvia Longhi ben dimostra.

La prima parte del volume, comprendente le sezioni I-III a cura di Gorni, include la lirica di Pietro Bembo accompagnata da quella pre- e post bembesca: alla sezione I su "Tebaldeo e altri minori prebembeschi" (Calmeta, Giovanni Bruni, Enea Irpino, Marcello Filosseno, Guidotto Prestinari, Niccolò Amanio, Olimpo da Sassoferrato, Antonio Tebaldeo, Thomaso Castellano e Gioanne Andrea Garisendi) segue la II con le *Rime* di Bembo e poi quella sulla "Cerchia veneta del Bembo" (Augurello, Trifon Gabriele, Paolo Canal, Vincenzo Querini, Nicolò Delphino, Andrea Navagero, Luigi da Porto, Veronica Gambara, Benardino Daniello, Antonio Brocardo). Novità in assoluto di questa sezione è la scelta di Gorni di presentare per la prima volta ai lettori l'edizione integrale del 1530 delle *Rime* bembesche. Anziché i 165 componimenti dell'edizione comunemente nota (Dionisotti, Marti), basata sulla postuma del 1548, curata da Gualterrazzi, appaiono qui 114 componimenti. Per Gorni recuperare questa versione storicamente importante su cui si formarono i poeti lirici del cinquecento significa "illustrare un petrarchismo lirico in atto, che è il tentativo più serio e tenace della poesia cinquecentesca di darsi uno statuto rigoroso di dignità formale." (44) Alle *Rime* si aggiungono in coda alcuni sonetti tardi, di rilievo documentario, quasi tutti di corrispondenza, che mostrano "l'estrema maniera dell'autore" (XXII). Da ultimo le cinquanta *Stanze* urbinati del 1507 in ottava rima, mostrano l'uso del genere lirico, galante dell'ottava rima.

La seconda parte (sezioni IV-V), a cura di Massimo Danzi, comprende: "Poeti veneti" (Trissino, Antonio Isidoro Mezzabarba, Niccolò Liburnio, Alvise Priuli, Gaspara Stampa, Ludovico Pascale, Marco Cademosto, Giulio Camillo Delminio, Girolamo Muzio); "Poeti settentrionali" (Niccolò Amanio, Giovanni Bressani, Giovanni Muzzarelli, Luca Valenziano, Giovan Battista Schiafenato, Iacopo Bonfadio). In questa parte spiccano alcuni componimenti tratti dalle *Rime* di Matteo Bandello, e diciassette ottave, più il lamento del pastore Ida dall'*Egloga Tirsi* di Baldassar Castiglione.

A Gorni spettano, nella parte centrale del volume, le sezioni VI-IX che includono "Francesco Maria Molza", di cui compaiono vari testi e alcune stanze nel poemetto *Ninfa Tiberina*; i "Rimatori cortigiani" (Pietro Barignano, Francesco Coppetta dei Beccuti e Luca Contile), "Annibal Caro e altri poeti farnesiani" (Giovanni Guidiccioni, Antonfrancesco Rainerio, Claudio Tolomei), e la sezione dedicata alle *Rime* di Michelangelo Buonarroti. Data l'incompletezza e il vasto apparato di varianti del *corpus* poetico michelangiolesco, così irregolare e fuori dell'ordinario, nonché la mescolanza di metri e generi, Gorni propone quaranta componimenti di metri vari, tra cui alcuni frammenti, brevissimi ma significativi. Oltre a vari sonetti per l'amante Cavalieri, spiccano l'epistola in terza rima in risposta al Berni e i componimenti per Vittoria Colonna. Questa sezione, più delle altre, risente del notevole ritardo con cui questo volume viene dato alle stampe. La nota introduttiva e la nota ai testi risalgono infatti al lontano 1975.

La parte finale del volume (X-XVII), a cura di Silvia Longhi, è dedicata all'ampio genere della poesia comico-burlesca e satirica, spesso trascurato e ignorato, e che riceve qui il dovuto riconoscimento. La figura dominante è Francesco Berni, la cui poesia parodica si caratterizza per innovazione e rottura con il petrar-

chismo bembesco. Longhi ben dimostra il ruolo centrale di Berni come iniziatore dello stile bernesco e come promotore del capitolo in terza rima. Nella sezione X Longhi pubblica l'edizione completa delle rime bernesche con introduzione, ampia nota ai testi, varianti delle edizioni cinquecentesche, ed esteso apparato commentativo. Come Gorni per Bembo, anche Longhi per Berni effettua una scelta meditata e lontana da quella dei precedenti editori (Virgili e Chiorboli). L'edizione presentata è esemplata sulla giuntina del 1548 (*Libro delle opere burlesche di M. Francesco Berni, Gio. Della Casa, del Varchi, del Mauro, di M. Bino, del Molza, del Dolce e del Firenzuola*), antologia fondamentale del Berni e degli altri poeti burleschi, curata da Anton Francesco Grazzini. Una sezione a parte Longhi dedica poi a "Giovanni Mauro" con quattro capitoli tratti dalla stessa edizione giuntina. L'attenzione a Mauro costituisce una vera novità per un autore a lungo ignorato e trascurato, ma che Longhi considera, dopo Berni, "il maggior burlesco integrale del Cinquecento" (*Lusus. Il capitolo burlesco nel Cinquecento*. Padova: Antenore, 1983, 34). Tra gli "Altri burleschi" (sezione XII) troviamo poesie di Strascino, Aretino, Della Casa, Giovan Francesco Bini, Agnolo Firenzuola, Mattio Franzesi, Lodovico Dolce, Niccolò Franco (dalle *Rime contro Aretino*), Anton Francesco Grazzini e Coppetta dei Beccuti.

La breve sezione sui "Canti carnascialeschi" include pezzi anonimi e di Giambullari, Giuggiola, Giovambattista dell'Ottonario. Dei "Poeti satirici" Longhi antologizza capitoli di Alamanni, Bentivoglio, Sansovino e un centinaio di versi da *Sopra la corte* di Cesare Caporali. Nei "Poeti didascalici" troviamo brani dalle *Api* di Rucellai e da *La coltivazione* di Alamanni. La sezione sulla "Nuova poesia toscana" propone poesie in distici elegiaci e odi di Renieri da Colle, Pier Paolo Gualtieri, Mario Zefiro, Bernardino Boccarini e Claudio Tolomei. L'ultima sezione curata da Longhi è su "Fidenzio" e include tredici sonetti dai *Cantici*.

Ogni sezione è corredata di nota introduttiva e nota ai testi con essenziali indicazioni bibliografiche. La parte curata da Danzi, poi, si distingue per la cura ed estensione delle note bio-bibliografiche, che talvolta gettano luce su autori e testi finora semi-sconosciuti, come Marco Cademosto, Alvise Priuli, Niccolò Amanio — importante per l'influsso sulla poesia di Bandello e altri lombardi — Giovan Battista Schiafenato, anch'egli della cerchia lombarda di Bandello. Questa perizia di Danzi non compensa tuttavia la scelta di dedicare a Gaspara Stampa, voce fondamentale della lirica femminile cinquecentesca, solo dieci sonetti, seppure corredati di una ricca nota bio-bibliografica.

Questo volume dei *Poeti del Cinquecento* è un lavoro importante, una proposta di lettura che si distingue per il rigore, la peculiarità di alcune scelte testuali e per la ricchezza dell'apparato commentativo, assai più abbondante di quanto normalmente concesso in raccolte antologiche. Date le scelte talora inaspettate e non canoniche, valgono come monito le seguenti affermazioni di Gorni: "questa nuova carta del navigar poetico cinquecentesco non traccia la sola rotta possibile, vale semmai da guida e da invito a percorrerne di nuove"(XXII). Un volume da non perdere e da meditare a fondo nelle sue scelte innovative e programmatiche.

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